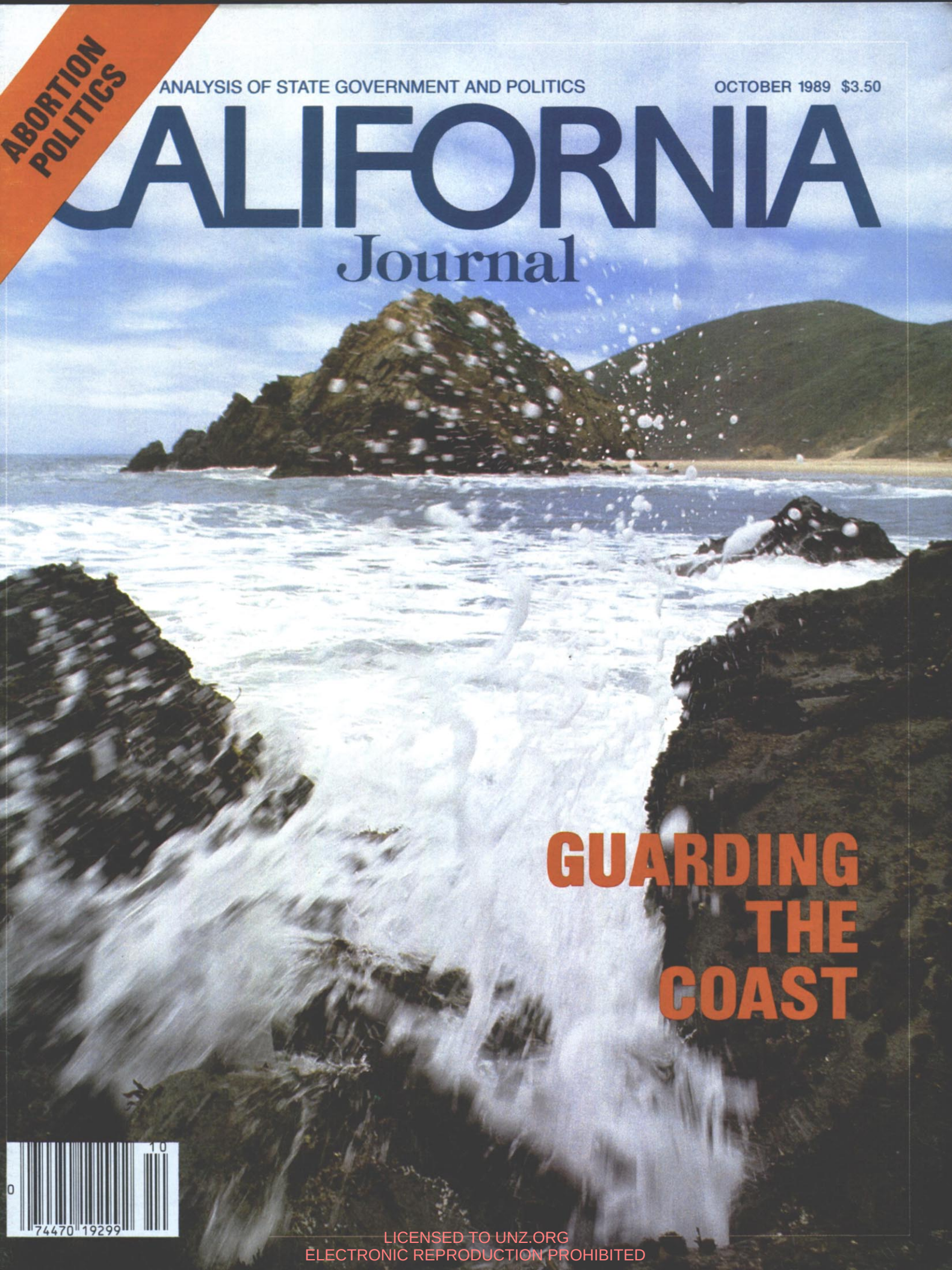
ABORTION POLITICS

ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

OCTOBER 1989 $3.50

# CALIFORNIA Journal



## GUARDING THE COAST

0 74470 19299 10

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# You Want To Win. Make Us Your First Move

In the campaign game, expert management plus good strategy add up to victory at the polls.

**Make your first move your best one.**

Consult the political experts at Roger Lee & Carol Beddo, Inc. [illegible] partners alone have served over [illegible] to more than

In states coast to coast. Members of Congress. Governors. State Legislators. Mayors. City and County Officials.

**We'll show you the right moves.**

- Campaign Management
- Television and Radio Advertising
- Targeted Direct Mail
- Fundraising
- News Media Relations

**When you're ready to wi talk with us.**

Call 408/280-5900. Or write 55 South Market Street, Suit San Jose, California 95113

## Roger Lee & Carol Bedd

**Campaign Management and Political Di**

© 1989 Ro

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# No matter how you slice it, there's no better place for your bread.

At USE, you'll find every financial service you'll probably ever need, along with all the privileges of belonging to a credit union. Like a choice of checking, savings and investment accounts, VISA cards, ATM cards good at more than 7,200 STAR SYSTEM locations, bank-by-phone services and great deals on personal, home equity and home mortgage loans. Drop by today and let us show you what we can do for you. You'll be glad you did!

USE
UNIVERSITY AND STATE EMPLOYEES CREDIT UNION

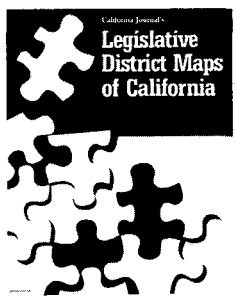
■ 770 L Street in Downtown Sacramento, 447-7555 and 2501 Stockton Blvd., 452-4006
Serving State of California employees, the faculty and staff of UC Davis and UCDMC and the families of these groups.

NCUA

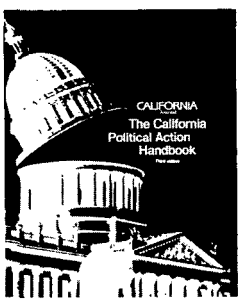

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# It's a Grand Slam!

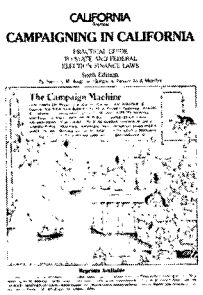
Four inexpensive booklets from **California Journal** can turn any group into a political powerhouse. These guides tell you hwo to figure out who your legislators are (Legislative Maps), how to accomplish what you want (Action Handbook), how to comply with campaign finance laws (Campaigning) and where to go to celebrate your victory (Visitors Guide). In quantities over 100, the four booklets **together** cost only $2.31, plus tax.




**Legislative District Maps of California.** Description of every Assembly, state Senate and Congressional district in California, including registration data and 10 maps. Also includes a brief history of reapportionment ofr the decade of the '80s. Price for this 8½ x 11", 16-page booklet: $1.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, 99¢ ea.; 50 or more copies, 74¢ ea.




**The California Political Action Handbook, Third Edition.** This award-winning guide to the political game in Sacramento answers these questions: How can an organization or an individual win in Sacramento? What tactics should be applied when legislative emergencies arise? How can the bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won? Price for the 16-page, 8½ x 11" handbook: $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 95¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 54¢ each.




**Campaigning in California**. A practical guide to state and federal election finance laws by the law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller. This easy-to-understand, Q & A format includes changes made in 1988 by Propositions 68 and 73. 8½ x 11". Price; 1-2 copies, $1.95 each; 3-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 54¢ each.

**Sacramento Political Visitor's Guide.** A 20-page, full-color guide for persons visiting the Capitol for the purpose of making their voices heard in the political process. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around, 8½ x 11". $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 49¢ each.

Please add 6.5% sales tax plus $2.00 handling to all orders. Write your order in on the handy insert card, or write your own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XX NUMBER 10 OCTOBER 1989



**Abortion and politics** 395
*A U.S. Supreme Court decision has thrown the controversy over abortion back to the states, where politicians may no longer be able to duck the issue.* By Steven Pressman

**Committee mania** 399
*The Legislature is awash in special committees that consume huge budgets without performing much work.* By Herbert A. Sample

**Guarding the coast** 403
*Despite seven years of budget cuts by Governor Deukmejian, the feisty California Coastal Commission marches on.* By Michela Jarvis

**Emergency-care crisis** 407
*California's emergency-care system is overworked and underfinanced and, for some localities, in danger of collapse.* By Ann Bancroft

**Slammin', jammin' legislator** 411
*Whether it be volleyball or lawmaking, Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, a Fresno Democrat, is world-class.* By Ellen Robinson-Haynes

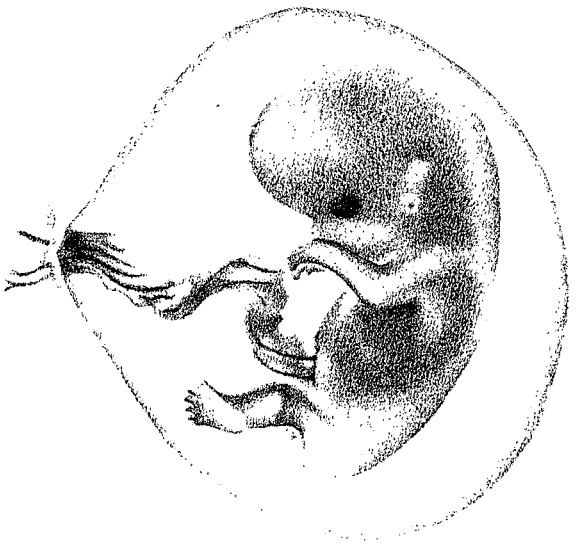
**SIDS** 417
*Sudden Infant Death Syndrome is the leading cause of death among infants, yet legal and health systems are just now learning how to deal with it.* By Steven A. Capps

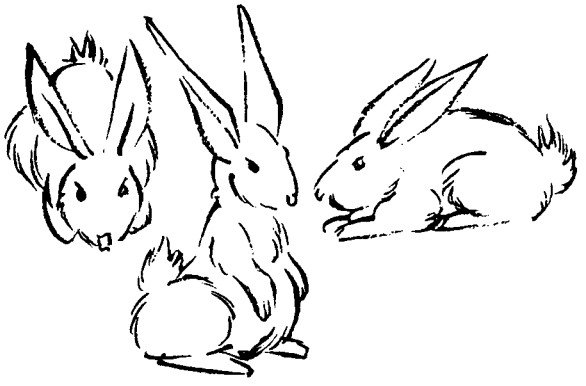
**KIDS** 419
*California may be neglecting its most precious resource — its children.* By Julie Miller

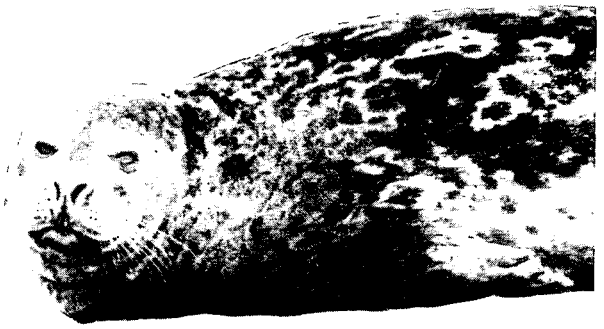
**Workers' compensation** 423
*After decades of squabbling among doctors, labor unions, insurance companies and lawyers, California may finally get some meaningful workers' compensation reform.* By Kristina Emanuels

**Latinos in the Valley** 427
*Southern California Latinos are no longer confined to the barrios of East Los Angeles but have settled in the San Fernando Valley where their political impact is being felt.* By Tom Waldman

Up Front 392
Rostrum 394
Ballot Front 425
Washington Perspective 430





Cover photograph by Rich Pedroncelli


**President and Publisher,** Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Business Manager,** Barbara Rocco; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Staff,** Ellen Chapman, Marnie Fesmire, Dori Meyers, Diane B. Mills, Hope Tuttle, Susan Uher; **Counsel,** Conrad Lee Klein.

**Advertising Representative: Jeff Wichmann, (916) 452-3242**

Member The Audit Bureau

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.


Copyright 1989 by California Journal, Inc.


Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# UP FRONT

**Pete Wilson,** the gubernatorial candidate, really wants to know what you think. He wants to know how you feel about critical issues facing California. Therefore, Pete Wilson, the U.S. senator, has sent selected Californians a poll, mailed in official-looking envelopes with "California State Opinion Poll" printed in bold black letters above the address label. The label reads "Document Transmittal Memorandum." Recipients are instructed to respond within 24 hours.

The poll itself asks such meaty questions as, "Should we continue the sound conservative policies of George Deukmejian ... or return to the irresponsible schemes of Jerry Brown?" And, "Should California's next governor be a supporter of the death penalty, like Senator Pete Wilson, or an opponent of the death penalty, like Attorney General John Van de Kamp?" And, "Should the Governor of California appoint liberal judges like Rose Bird to the state supreme court?"

The poll asks a few legitimate questions, as well, probing how voters feel about the proposed 5-cents-per-gallon gas tax, a ban on assault rifles and a ban on offshore oil drilling.

Finally, and here's the real surprise, the poll asks if recipients won't spare a little loose change to help Wilson the senator become Wilson the governor.

**The word "ethics"** is apparently enough to bring rats out of the woodwork in the Assembly chamber. Seems the lower house was debating an ethics-related proposal to restrict lawmakers' outside income when a rat emerged in the visitor's gallery. What's new, you ask? This was the four-legged variety. The discussion ground to a halt as legislators craned their necks for a glimpse of the large rodent, which had nested near the top of one of the chamber's ornate pillars and was sticking its head out during the debate. Speaker pro Tempore Mike Roos tried to restore order as Speaker Willie Brown went to the gallery for a closer look. Brown said he was sure the rat had come over from the Senate.

**Bad timing of the month:** The *San Francisco Chronicle* chose Friday, September 8th to lecture opera-goers in an editorial on etiquette. That evening marked the San Francisco Opera's grand season opening with a production of "Falstaff," and the *Chronicle* no doubt wanted to head off improper conduct. The bad etiquette? Leaning forward in the front row of upstairs seating, which the *Chronicle* complained blocked the view of seats behind the front row.

Unfortunately, inappropriate leaning was the least of the Opera's problems with bad conduct on opening night. Seems a riot broke out. No, not a brawl between leaners and non-leaners. It was an AIDS protest, as 100 demonstrators slashed noisily through the audience. Before the melee was brought under control by SWAT teams from the San Francisco Police Department, a member of the opera company had been maced, leaflets were showered on the audience and punches were exchanged between patrons and protesters. The demonstrators, who actually bought their way in with $10 standing-room-only tickets, were part of a group known as SANE (Stop AIDS Now or Else) which earlier this year brought rush-hour traffic to a halt during a protest on the Golden Gate Bridge.

AND IF ELECTED ASSISTANT CITY COMMISSIONER FOR SEWAGE MANAGEMENT, I PROMISE TO...
BUT WHERE DO YOU STAND ON ABORTION?!?
HI, I'M Ford Flero
ELECT FLERO
GREENBERG

Cartoon by Steve Greenberg

**William Filante,** the Republican who represents Marin County in the state Assembly, thinks his staff works harder than other legislators' staffs. Filante made his remarks in response to a story in the *Marin Independent Journal*, which chronicled how his expense-account spending rose 23 percent during the past fiscal year. Filante, according to the paper, ranked 15th in the 80-member lower house.

Misleading, claimed Filante; he may be spending more, but he's also doing more. Besides, in other legislators' offices, Filante was quoted as saying, "most staff is sitting around reading books."

*(William Shafroth, Mill Valley)*

**The face** on the cutting room floor. Little did we realize the rash of one-upsmanship we started with our September article about staff clout. We have it reliably reported that more than one staff member insisted that he or she would have been included among the top clouters, but that they got cut at the last minute for space reasons. We hate to spoil anyone's fun, but we got in all the names we wanted. Oh, and for the record, Nancy Burt, President pro Tem David Roberti's administrative director, makes $95,064, just as much as Mel


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assagi, who carries the title of assistant to the pro tem.

**Get an independent view,** we always say. State Senator Larry Stirling decided to do just that regarding the legality of Propositions 68 and 73 — the brace of campaign-reform initiatives passed by voters in November 1988. Stirling, a San Diego Republican, especially wanted to know if it was really illegal for lawmakers to raise money in years when they do not seek election, as the state courts had ruled.

Not as far as I'm concerned, said the unbiased, independent-minded attorney Stirling hired.

The attorney? Alister McAlister.

Never mind that McAlister served in the Assembly from 1970 to 1986. Never mind that McAlister may be reluctant to write legal opinions that hamstring his former colleagues' ability to raise money. Never mind that, as a lobbyist, McAlister relies on the good graces of legislators to get things done for his clients. After all, this is the man who ran for state controller in 1986 under the slogan "Honest McHonest."

**"Aha" of the month:** We've wondered for years just what the Legislature does, and now Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has provided a clue. The speaker was asked to explain one of his bills — a quilt-like piece of work that patched together $40 million worth of local "pork barrel" projects across the state.

According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Brown said that local projects provide proof of what a legislator does for his or her district.

And all the thousands of other bills?

Said Brown: "All the rest of this other stuff is just good government."

Good government. Of course. Now, we know.

"Sometimes [racial prejudice] is like a hair across your cheek. You can't see it, you can't find it with your fingers, but you keep brushing at it because the feel of it is irritating."
— Marian Anderson

*Advertisement*

# Check us out:

**Experience:** The first computerized legislative reporting service in Sacramento. We've covered every legislative session for the last 14 years.

**Features:** The most versatile and comprehensive on-line service now available PLUS exciting new features soon to be announced for 1990.

**Service:** Expert client support staff makes sure you get maximum benefit for your dollar.

**Cost:** Fees are based on workload. You never pay for more service than you need.

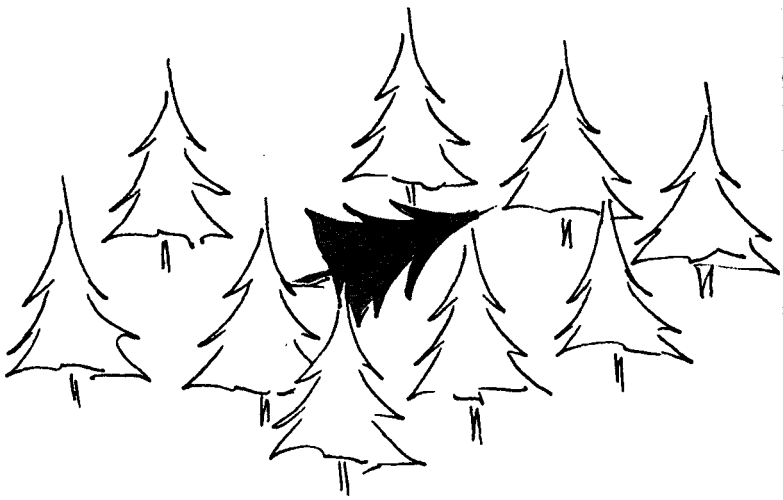
## Why not choose the best?

To arrange an on-line demonstration or for more information about our on-line service, printed reports or bill copy service, call now:

**State Net**
1900 - 14th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814 • 916/444-0840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement



# A tree falls in the forest

Every institution has important messages it needs to convey to the public, to community leaders and to business. Millions of dollars are spent each year creating and refining these messages. Yet few focus on the fact that the best-presented message in the world is worthless if it doesn't reach the right audience at the right time. It's a message with no one to hear.

*California Journal* offers you the opportunity to present your message every month to the state's most exclusive audience: an audience of sophisticated and discerning readers who also happen to control the financial and legislative policies of the 7th largest country in the world — the state of California.

For advertising rates and information call:
**Jeff Wichmann**
**(916) 452-3242**

or write:
**California Journal Advertising**
**2330 Alhambra Blvd., Suite 172**
**Sacramento, CA 95817**

# ROSTRUM

## Reapportionment

Your article on redistricting (see "Carving up California," *CJ*, September 1989) implies that a new redistricting system could be worse than the current system of legislators drawing their own district lines. Although we must be wary of the unintended consequences of making laws by initiative, it is hard to imagine a process as corrupt as the present legislator's quest for incumbent immortality. Those elected in the past are hardly representative of California's population; women, Hispanics and Asians are now grievously underrepresented in the Legislature. These groups would certainly fare better with their own representative at the redistricting table of an independent commission.

In an April *California Poll*, 82 percent of respondents, after hearing a description of the current gerrymander practices, disapproved of the current system of legislators designing their own districts. Many people believe that a citizens' commission is much more likely to choose fair and competitive districts. Our citizens' commission plan encourages political parties to participate in the commission selection (public comment and peremptory challenge) and plan selection process. But while we encourage public party participation, we discourage the present backroom party and incumbent dealmaking.

Your article questions criteria. Our commission plan contains strict, measurable standards to guide the commission, the plan presenters and the courts. The standards specifically prohibit both packing and dispersal of minority populations. Although the geographic standards prevent the "arms" and "necks" characteristics of a gerrymandered district, the standards are flexible enough to encourage preservation of cities and counties and communities of interest.

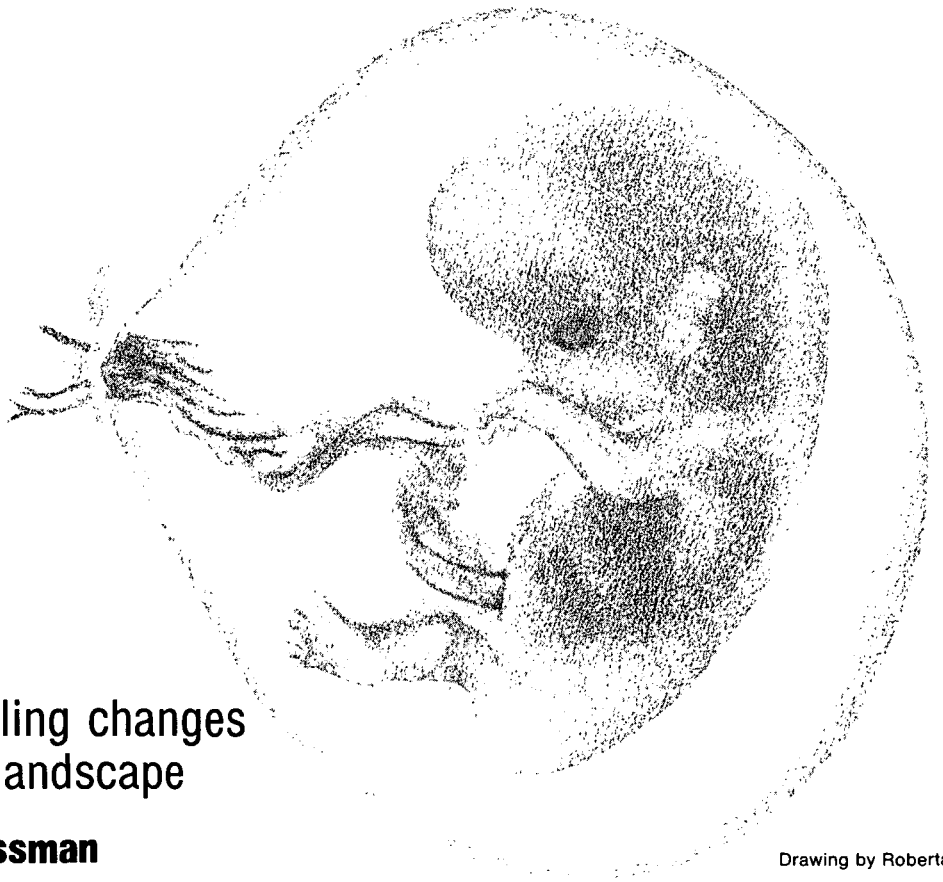
We believe our proposal ensures neutrality, not because we have created the perfect system but because all phases of our bipartisan commission process take place in front of the watchful eyes of the public and the press.

TOM HUENING
Supervisor, San Mateo County
Chairman, Californians for
Political Reform



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ABORTION POLITICS



## U.S. Court ruling changes the political landscape

**By Steven Pressman**

Drawing by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled last July that states could legally enact restrictions on abortion (*Webster v. Reproductive Services*), the potential for a new political pressure-front was suddenly created in 50 state capitals across the country. Sure enough, right-to-life groups have seized upon the high Court's ruling in that Missouri case as just the kind of armor they need to crack through 16 years of legalized abortions nationwide and to urge state lawmakers to scale back access to the medical procedure. For pro-choice groups, the ruling in Washington represents a stunning setback to their cause and will require that they marshal their own political forces in the states to stave off further incursions against legal abortions.

In California — where more abortions are performed than anywhere else in the United States — the Supreme Court's decision in *Webster* clearly promises to focus more legislative and legal attention on the volatile issue of a woman's ability to end an unwanted pregnancy. What's more, analysts fully expect that the abortion issue will play an influential role in some of next year's legislative and statewide elections.

"I see it as a pivotal, if not dominating, issue in the upcoming campaigns," says Mervin Field, director of the California Poll. "The Supreme Court decision has created political turmoil, and I think every ... candidate for statewide or legislative office is going to be asked for their position." A poll conducted by Field in mid-July found that 49 percent of California adults disagreed with the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision, while 34 percent said they supported it. Another 17 percent said they were not aware of the ruling or had no opinion on it.

As a whole, Californians have fairly liberal views toward abortion, with 67 percent in favor of a woman's right to end a pregnancy during the first trimester. Only 26 percent of those surveyed by Field registered opposition to first-trimester abortions. And the July California Poll also discovered that 71 percent of Californians opposed a constitutional amendment that would ban abortions outright.

While statewide opinion polls always have indicated a tolerance for abortions, it's also likely that the alarm bells sounded by pro-choice groups in the wake of *Webster* were responsible for the wide pro-abortion margins that surfaced in his survey.

"There's no question that recent events have really galvanized pro-choice supporters. They just feel they can't be silent anymore," says Diana Buckhantz, an official with the California Abortion Rights Action League.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume from Field's and other polling figures that lawmakers in Sacramento will automatically turn a deaf ear when pro-life groups come

---

*Steven Pressman is a senior editor of* California Lawyer *magazine in San Francisco.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

California Journal
SEMINARS

Law-making
Budget process
Rules and regulations
Advocacy
Bill analysis
Bill tracking
Committee procedure
The art of testifying
Issues management

★ ★ ★ ★

WE PREPARE YOU
TO BE
EFFECTIVE

★ ★ ★ ★

*California Journal*'s Institute For Policy Review conducts seminars and workshops on these and other subjects several times each month in various locations throughout California. For SCHEDULE INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list, contact **ROD TUTTLE** at (916) 444-2840.

knocking on their doors now that they've received the green light to do so from the black-robed justices in Washington. In fact, the Legislature for years has been closely divided on a variety of abortion issues, making it extremely difficult for interest groups on either side to carry the day. That also has been the case since the *Webster* decision was handed down, with neither side pushing forward immediately with either a pro-life or pro-choice legislative agenda.

"I think both sides would agree that we don't really know which side has the upper hand with respect to the votes. I think it's fairly tight," said Bill Cardoza, former aide to abortion foe, Assemblyman Phil Wyman of Bakersfield, and now a consultant with the Assembly Republican Caucus.

Still, anti-abortion forces have managed to demonstrate a significant degree of political clout in Sacramento by winning passage of measures aimed at sharply restricting abortion, which have reached about 300,000 each year in the state. The Legislature for the past 12 years has annually approved a budget measure that prohibits funds from the Medi-Cal program to pay for abortions for poor women in California. And in 1987 abortion foes succeeded in enacting a measure that requires girls under 18 to obtain either their parents' permission or court approval before receiving an abortion.

Both the Medi-Cal restrictions and the parental-consent law have been blocked by the courts, frustrating abortion opponents but also leaving them optimistic that they can muster the political strength needed to win at least occasional anti-abortion battles in Sacramento.

"It's our job to keep passing these kinds of restrictions in order to entice the courts to take another look at them," says Janet Carroll, legislative director of the California Pro-Life Council.

In a very real sense, California's judges have continued to keep nervous politicians off the hook when it comes to deciding the fate of abortion rights around the state. For example, the Legislature's annual exercise in cutting off Medi-Cal funds for abortions has turned into little more than a symbolic gesture — essentially a free vote on the issue — because of the virtual certainty every year that the courts will toss out each new law.

The California Supreme Court first overturned the Medi-Cal restrictions in 1981, setting the precedent that lower courts have followed faithfully ever since. Margaret Crosby, an ACLU lawyer in San Francisco, jokes that the legal arguments attacking the yearly legislative action are now stored on computers, only to be trotted out whenever they're needed. More seriously, she chides legislators and Governor George Deukmejian for routinely supporting a measure that, according to the courts, runs afoul of the California Constitution.

But abortion opponents insist that politicians who share their views have an obligation to continue challenging the courts in order to reverse two decades of pro-abortion rulings in California.

"It's up to them to challenge the courts, and that's where their role will be in the next few years," says Carroll. She says pro-life groups will try to keep the pressure on by urging legislators to pass additional anti-abortion measures, such as the annual Medi-Cal abortion cut-off and other new restrictions.

Pro-choice groups, meanwhile, will continue to rely on the courts, even though some of them are nervous that a Deukmejian-dominated state Supreme Court might be tempted to chip away at previous rulings.

"We're assuming that the Constitution, at least in the interim, will continue to protect women's access to abortions in California. But obviously there are some big tests in Cali-


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fornia," says Norma Clevenger, executive director of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California.

The California Supreme Court first recognized a state constitutional right to abortion four years before the U.S. Supreme Court reached the same conclusion on federal grounds in the landmark 1973 case of *Roe v. Wade*. In 1969, during Ronald Reagan's first term as governor, the state Supreme Court said the state's own legal charter included implicit privacy rights that protected a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy. That legal reasoning was bolstered further when voters added a separate right-to-privacy provision to the state Constitution in 1972. In fact, the late Justice Mathew Tobriner went so far as to place abortion restrictions off-limits to the Legislature when he wrote the state Supreme Court's 1981 opinion in the original Medi-Cal case.

"Because a woman's right to choose whether or not to bear a child is explicitly afforded this constitutional protection, in California the question of whether an individual should or should not terminate her pregnancy is not a matter that may be put to a vote of the Legislature," wrote Tobriner.

This summer's *Webster* decision in Washington, of course, does nothing at all to immediately alter the political or legal dynamics of abortion in California.

"Webster gives us a psychological boost. It gives us encouragement. It gives us direction, but it doesn't create any pressure until our own judiciary acts," says Cardoza, the Republican consultant. "Until that is resolved, it is really futile for pro-lifers to pursue a legislative course that will only end up in the courts anyway." Such logic certainly explains why there was no flurry of abortion-related activity in Sacramento in the immediate aftermath of *Webster*.

Pro-choice groups, of course, were aided by an agreement reached early on by Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti not to take up any abortion-related measures during the remainder of the 1989 legislative session. That left only a simmering dispute over funding for the Office of Family Planning, a unit within the Department of Health Services that hands out grants to local family planning agencies and advises poor women on birth control and abortion options.

Deukmejian and other abortion opponents are opposed to the office, and the governor in July vetoed two-thirds of its $36 million annual budget approved earlier by the Legislature. Lawmakers were contemplating various plans to restore the money, perhaps with new strings attached, during the closing weeks of the legislative session.

Pending court decisions also are contributing to the current wait-and-see attitude toward abortion in California. The Court of Appeal in San Francisco heard arguments in July 1989 surrounding the parental-consent law approved by lawmakers two years ago. A decision could come in October and will set the stage, however the court decides, for the state Supreme Court to consider whether or not to rule in the case.

The state's high Court has not issued any abortion-related decisions since 1981, and right-to-life advocates are anxious to see how the new conservative majority will handle the hot-potato issue, particularly in the post-*Webster* era. In addition, abortion foes are hoping that the Court will finally agree to toss out its old Medi-Cal ruling, which has paved the way for about 30,000 publicly-financed abortions each year in California. Without any cooperation from the courts, right-to-life lobbyists will find it difficult to place abortion back into the political arena, where they say it belongs. Although there is occasional talk of an anti-abortion initiative, pro-life strategists are usually quick to point out the dangerous political risks of such a course.

"You've got to be able to come up with the money, and you have to demonstrate that you can win," says Carroll. For now, at least, she says anti-abortion groups prefer to take their chances in the courts and, whenever possible, in the legislative process. Undoubtedly, some of Mervin Field's polling numbers are not very encouraging when it comes to gauging the chances of success in a statewide initiative battle.

Meanwhile, the 1990 elections are likely to feature some heavy doses of the "A"-word. "We're going to make it an issue, there's no question," says Buckhantz, from the California Abortion Rights Action League. "There is a misconception that this is a very liberal state when it comes to abortion. But it's a very close state when you look at the Legislature, and we need every vote that we can get. There is always a threat."

Buckhantz and her colleagues were heartened when Tricia Hunter, a pro-choice Republican, slipped past five anti-abortion candidates in August to gain a run-off spot in a special Assembly election in San Diego County (see "Abortion politics," *CJ*, September 1989). Pro-choice groups were particularly delighted because the race had attracted national attention, serving as one of the first tests of the abortion issue in the aftermath of the *Webster* decision.

Abortion opponents were flustered by Hunter's victory, but later dismissed it as an unfortunate fluke. "We feel like pro-lifers essentially shot themselves in the foot," says Carroll. "With five [anti-abortion] candidates in the race, we showed one thing. You can take a pro-life district and you can still lose it."

The abortion issue also has seeped into the 1990 race for governor, where Attorney General John Van de Kamp and former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein are competing for the Democratic nomination and the right to run against U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, the probable Republican. All three have staked out general pro-choice positions, although Wilson has cast some votes in the Senate against public funding for abortions. He's also been criticized for supporting an anti-crime initiative that, some believe, would interfere with abortion rights in California. A section of the initiative would narrow the constitutional privacy right in the state, which has been the focus of court rulings that favor abortion.

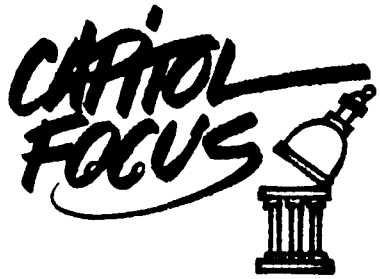
Wilson and other initiative supporters insist they are not targeting abortions, but the flap over the measure illustrates just how sensitive the abortion issue has become. More important, it demonstrates the sort of dilemma facing a politician like Wilson, who must figure out a way to appeal to moderate pro-choice voters without alienating right-to-life conservatives able to contribute significant voting chunks to any GOP candidate.

Although Van de Kamp is considered by some to be the most vocal pro-choice candidate in the race, he's occasionally taken positions as attorney general that have been opposed by pro-choice groups. After several unsuccessful attempts to defend in court the Legislature's annual Medi-Cal restrictions, Van de Kamp announced last year that his office no longer would do the lawmakers' legal bidding on the issue. But he has mounted a legal defense in the pending case that challenges the legality of the parental-consent law for minors seeking abortions. As it turns out, however, Van de Kamp probably isn't taking too much of a political risk by taking up the legal arguments in the case. Field's mid-summer poll showed that 59 percent of Californians favored the parental approval law, while only 35 percent were opposed.

"That seems to be a matter of people believing that parents should have some input into the decision," says the pollster. "But it doesn't much mitigate people's fundamental position on abortion."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# DISCOVER THE GHOSTS, GOBLINS & MYSTERIES OF CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT! OCTOBER 29 — NOVEMBER 1 1989

One hundred twenty-five high school aged students from throughout California are invited to attend the next Capitol Focus program, October 29 — November 1, 1989 in Sacramento. They'll attend sessions with over sixty professionals in state government and enjoy the opportunity to investigate the mysteries of California politics. After hearing contrasting perspectives on key issues being examined by policy makers, participants will cast their vote. They'll return to their classrooms to make reports and lead discussions benefiting hundreds more!

## PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Seminars
Workshops
Debates
Investigative Interviews
Simulated Proceedings
Ballot
Community Presentations
Railroad Museum
River Boat Cruise
Halloween Dance/Old Sacramento
Panel Discussions
Tours of Historical Sites
Volleyball tournament
Vietnam Retrospective

## SCHEDULED TOPICS INCLUDE:

Education Policies
Gangs in California
Reapportionment
Constitutional Amendment — Flag Desecration
Media Influence
Ca. Court Systems
Mandatory Motorcycle Helmets
Lobbying Strategies
Ozone Layer
Green House Affect
Death Penalty for Minors
Animal Rights
Pesticide Labeling
Due Process Rights
Political Ethics
Open Enrollment
Abortion Controversy
Hazardous Waste
Weapons Ban
Gann Spending Limit
Campaign Reform
AIDS Policies

## REGISTER NOW!

Fee for the program is $225. Participation is limited to one-hundred and twenty-five students, and no more than seven per community. Elected officials, businesses and foundations, high school administrators, parents and others are encouraged to sponsor students from their area, or contribute to our scholarship fund for under-represented youths. For more information, or to register, please contact:

**James C. Muldavin or Deanne Reinstein**
**Capitol Focus Project**
**1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, California 95814**
**916/444-2840**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cartoon by Chris Van Overloop

# Need staff? Form a committee

**By Herbert A. Sample**

True or false?: Christopher Columbus journeyed to California.

Answer: False. He didn't even get past the Mississippi River.

So why, then, does the California Legislature need to spend $214,900 to staff a special committee whose partial responsibility is to organize celebrations marking Columbus' landing in what was called the New World?

The chairman of the committee insists it is needed, in part, to improve trade between California and European nations. But there is probably more to it than that. A close examination of the 70 joint, select and other special legislative committees that have proliferated at the Capitol in recent years revealed that many of them really are designed to pad legislative staffs or as prizes with which legislative leaders can reward loyal supporters. Furthermore, the responsibilities of many panels overlap; they do little work that cannot be done by existing state employees; and they spend millions upon millions of taxpayer dollars.

The committees' spending records show that between December 1983 and November 1988, more than 100 different select, joint or other special committees were in operation, spending $19.5 million. This year, the 70 currently-existing panels will spend another $7.08 million on staff salaries and benefits alone. And more committees are being planned.

These committees are in addition to the Legislature's 48 standing committees and their 51 subcommittees, which spend millions of dollars each year as well. Joint, select and other special committees differ from standing and subcommittees in that they cannot vote on legislation.

There are so many special panels that several lawmakers are not aware of how many they sit on. The response of Republican Senator Robert Beverly of Manhattan Beach was typical when he was told that he is a member of 14 panels: "I am?"

Beverly is a member of the committee designed to help celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas. Grandly titled "The Joint Committee on the 1992 California Quincentennial of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus," it is chaired by Senator Henry Mello, a Watsonville Democrat who is also a member of the Senate Rules Committee. In addition to a secretary, there are three consultants on its payroll. One of them worked on arts and athletics issues last year for the committee's vice chairwoman, Assemblywoman Sunny Mojonnier, a Republican from Encinitas. Some or all of its 20 members from both the Assembly and the Senate will soon embark on a two-week trip to Spain and Portu-

---

*Herbert A. Sample is a reporter for the Capitol bureau of* The Sacramento Bee.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gal. Although they will pay their own airfare, taxpayer dollars will cover the cost of $100- to $200-a-night hotel rooms.

But the quincentennial committee is not an isolated case:

• The Senate Select Committee on Governmental Efficiency, chaired by Van Nuys Democrat Alan Robbins, has not met in more than four years. Yet in that time, it spent $628,100, mostly on staff salaries and benefits, and produced two sketchy reports. One of the tomes totals 68 pages and consists of reprints of newspaper clippings and letters, and the 41-page transcript of an April 1985 hearing in Robbins' district.

Robbins explained the lack of hearings this way: "It's not a committee, like many, that's used to hold hearings to garner publicity for the chair of the committee." The panel will spend another $175,000 this year, mostly to pay one staff member who is Robbins' press spokeswoman and another aide who has spent part of her time working on Robbins' car-loan legislation.

• Robbins also chairs the Joint Committee on Courthouse Financing and Construction. It was authorized earlier this year, apparently to take the place of a joint panel on computer sciences that Robbins chaired last year but decided to disband. However, the computer committee's staff, which Robbins said were experts in their field, did not leave the state's payroll. They simply moved over to work on the courthouse-financing panel. Robbins said they're well-versed in that field as well. The panel will spend about $140,000 this year for salaries and benefits.

• Jerome Haleva receives $92,280 in annual pay from the staff budget of the Joint Committee on Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services. However, there is little evidence that Haleva does much work for the committee. Instead, he functions as the top aide to Senator William Campbell, the Hacienda Heights Republican who chairs the disaster-services committee. Haleva not only acts as Campbell's right-hand man, spokesman and unofficial chief of staff, he also is a political consultant to the senator. Neither Haleva nor Campbell would answer several requests for interviews.

• The Joint Plant and Animal Husbandry Committee has spent taxpayer money even though the committee has never been officially authorized. A resolution to create the panel, introduced by its chairman, Senator Jim Nielsen, a Republican from Rohnert Park, died in the Assembly last year. No similar measure has been introduced this year. Nevertheless, the committee ate up $111,920 in salaries, benefits and other staff expenses last year and will spend another $120,800 this year. Nielsen said he assumed the panel had been authorized since the Senate Rules Committee never told him of his measure's demise. He said he will soon introduce another resolution.

• The Assembly Select Committee on Waste Reduction, Reuse, and Recycling employs three consultants and one secretary, at a cost this year of $169,670. However, the committee's chairwoman, Assemblywoman Lucy Killea, a San Diego Democrat, acknowledged that only one of the consultants spends all of his time on recycling issues. "I have no help on Ways and Means [a policy committee, of which she is a member], and the burden is tremendous," she said, adding that assigning the recycling panel's staff to other duties does not interfere with that panel's work.

• The Assembly Select Committee on Radioactive Waste Disposal and Fusion Technology has one member — its chairman, Democratic Assemblyman Steve Peace of Chula Vista. It will spend at least $130,470 this year to pay the salaries and benefits of one secretary and two consultants. One consultant is David Takashima, who acts as Peace's chief aide on both legislative and political matters. The other is Irwin Nowick, who has spent much of this year working on gun-control legislation. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown said he will soon appoint the remainder of the committee so it can hold hearings during the Legislature's recess.

• A panel chaired by Senate Democratic leader Barry Keene of Benicia — the Joint Committee on Fisheries and Aquaculture — will spend $218,240 on staff pay and benefits this year. Part of its scope is to examine the timber industry — the same issue that has been or will be reviewed in one way or another by the Senate Select Committee on Forest Resources ($95,850 staff budget this year) which Keene also chairs; the Senate Select Committee on Sierra/Cascade/Klamath Watersheds ($119,200), chaired by Senator John Doolittle, a Rocklin Republican; Nielsen's joint Plant and Animal Husbandry Committee ($120,800); and the Senate Select Committee on Upper Sacramento Valley Economic Resource and Rangeland Issues ($134,470), which Nielsen also heads.

• The Senate Select Committee on Substance Abuse has been led by Senator John Seymour, an Anaheim Republican, for several years except for a brief period in early 1987. At that time, Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat, charged Seymour with plotting against him and removed his chairmanships. Roberti survived whatever challenge there was and named an ally — Democratic Senator Waddie Deddah of Chula Vista — to chair a new select committee on border issues and drug trafficking. Seymour was reappointed chairman of the substance abuse panel about six months later, after "making peace" with Roberti, Seymour recalled. Yet, his committee cannot examine drug smuggling, which is in the purview of Deddah's new panel.

To be sure, there are those committees that at least appear to legitimately work and perform a necessary function.

The Joint Committee on Prison Construction and Operations, chaired by Riverside's Democratic senator, Robert Presley, is one of the Legislature's most expensive panels, spending $948,300 between 1984 and the end of this year. Yet it is the only committee — special or standing — with the statutory authority to single-handedly approve or kill state projects — in this case, proposed penitentiaries.

The panel was established in 1982, just as the state embarked on a massive prison-building program. Since its inception, it has approved 13 new prisons and reviewed an average of six construction phase plans for each proposal.

But for every example of a special panel that seems to be legitimate, there are others that are highly questionable.

"I am fairly convinced that the reward of a chair or a select committee is an important tool in the arsenal of a legislative leader," said Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political scientist at Claremont Graduate School who herself once worked for a joint committee under former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh. "It offers supportive members staff, position, perquisites. It's a way of keeping members happy."

A consultant for a Senate select panel, who said 70 percent of his work centered on legislative matters apart from his committee work, agreed. "It's just a well-known fact that select committees are often created to provide staff for members," said the staffer, who requested anonymity. "I'm a beneficiary of the system, but I think someone needs to come in and clean house."

Critics also question whether some or all of the research done by special committee aides could be accomplished by the two well-staffed research offices that each house maintains, or by the staffs of the standing committees and subcommittees.

Special committees are not new. In 1969 there were 20


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees committees commit

*The 20 select, special or joint committees that will spend the most money this year in salaries and benefits:*

- Joint Committee on Science and Technology: $311,900, chaired by Senator John Garamendi, D-Walnut Grove.
- Joint Committee on Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services: $298,700, chaired by Senator William Campbell, R-Hacienda Heights.
- Joint Committee on Refugee Resettlement, International Migration and Cooperative Development: $255,100, chaired by Senator Art Torres, D-Los Angeles.
- Joint Committee on Prison Construction and Operations: $244,000, chaired by Robert Presley, D-Riverside.
- Joint Committee on Revision of the Penal Code: $242,000, chaired by Ken Maddy, R-Fresno
- Joint Committee on GAIN Implementation: $220,155, chaired by Delaine Eastin, D-Union City.
- Joint Committee on Fisheries and Aquaculture: $218,200, chaired by Barry Keene, D-Benicia.
- Select Committee on Substance Abuse: $213,400, chaired by John Seymour, R-Anaheim.
- Joint Committee on the 1992 California Quincentennial of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus: $214,900, chaired by Henry Mello, D-Watsonville.
- Joint Committee on Waste Reduction, Reuse and Recycling: $190,100, chaired by Lucy Killea, D-San Diego.
- Special Committee on Medi-Cal Oversight: $184,400, chaired by Burt Margolin, D-Los Angeles.
- Select Committee on Governmental Efficiency: $175,000, chaired by Alan Robbins, D-Van Nuys.
- Select Committee on Radioactive Waste Disposal and Fusion Technology: $174,000, chaired by Steve Peace, D-Chula Vista.
- Select Committee on the Pacific Rim: $162,500, chaired by Joseph Montoya, D-Whittier.
- Select Committee on Ethics: $119,600, chaired by John Vasconcellos, D-Santa Clara.
- Select Committee on Unlicensed Contractors: $95,800, chaired by Delaine Eastin, D-Union City.
- Select Committee on Genetic Diseases: $94,300, chaired by Tom Bane, D-Tarzana.
- Select Committee on State Public Procurement Practices: $72,800, chaired by Richard Polanco, D-Los Angeles.
- Select Committee on Accreditation: $70,200, chaired by Sam Farr, D-Carmel.
- Select Committee on Hazardous Materials, Pipeline, Chemical Plant and Refinery Safety: $67,200, chaired by Dave Elder, D-Long Beach.

**LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES** (except standing committees)

**Joint committees (24)**

Arts
Courthouse Financing and Construction
International Trade
Legislative Audit
Legislative Budget
Energy Regulation and the Environment
Legislative Ethics
Fairs Allocation and Classification
Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services
Fisheries and Aquaculture
Organized Crime and Gang Violence
Oversight Committee on GAIN Implementation
Revision of the Penal Code
Prison Construction and Operations
Public Pension Fund Investments
Refugee Resettlement, International Migration and Cooperative Development
Legislative Retirement
Rules
Science and Technology
School Facilities
State's Economy
Surrogate Parenting
Tort Liability
1992 California Quincentennial of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus

**Select committees of the Senate (23)**

AIDS
Bilingual Education
Border Issues, Drug Trafficking and Contraband
Business Development
California's Wine Industry
Children and Youth
Citizen Participation in Government
Fairs and Rural Issues
Forest Resources
Governmental Efficiency
Health Hazards of the Workplace
Infant and Child Care and Development
Maritime Industry
Mobile Homes
Motion Picture, Television, Commerical and Recording Industries
Pacific Rim
Planning for California's Growth
Sierra/Cascade/Klamath Watersheds
Small Business Enterprises
State Procurement and Expenditure Practices
Substance Abuse
Tourism and Aviation
Upper Sacramento Valley Economic, Resource and Rangeland Issues

**Special committees of the Senate (3):**

Greenhouse Effect, Ozone Depletion and Atmospheric Pollution
Solid and Hazardous Waste
University of California Admissions

**Research committees of the Senate (1):**

Neighborhood Violence

**Select committees of the Assembly (19):**

Accrediation
Assistance to Victims of Sexual Assault
Aviation
California-Mexico Affairs
California Wine Production and Economy
Census
Child Care and Child Abuse
Common Interest Subdivisions
Ethics
Genetic Diseases
Hazardous Materials, Pipeline, Chemical Plant and Refinery Safety
Oil Spill Prevention and Response Preparedness
Radioactive Waste Disposal and Fusion Technology
Regional Government
Small Business
State Public Procurement Practices
Unlicensed Contractors
Waste Reduction, Reuse and Recycling
Youth and Drug Abuse Prevention

**Special committees of the Assembly (2):**

Medi-Cal Oversight
Policy Research Management

Source: Senate and Assembly Rules Committees


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

joint and a half-dozen select committees. Ten years ago, there were a total of 39. But in recent years their numbers have ballooned to the current 45 headed by senators and 25 chaired by Assembly members.

Select committees are created by the respective leaders of each house. Speaker Brown authorizes such panels and appoints members to them in the Assembly. Roberti, with the concurrence of the Senate Rules Committee, which he chairs, performs a similar function in the upper house. Joint committees must be created by resolution, which both houses must pass. Most of the panels must be reauthorized every one or two years.

Roberti said the Rules Committee scrutinizes the work and necessity of each select committee when it comes up for renewal. "I won't say the 69, or whatever it is, committees are doing an equal amount of work," he said. "If they aren't they should be put to rest. But by and large, the system is a healthy one."

Similarly, Brown defended his record of establishing and reauthorizing select committees. "If I continue the committee, it's because they have not finished their work," he said. "If I reestablish a committee, it is because the problem [the panel was focused on] has reoccurred, the solution didn't work, or a combination of those."

Nonetheless, the proliferation of special committees is beginning to cause some concern in the Capitol. The panels, said Assemblywoman Jackie Speier, a South San Francisco Democrat and herself the chairwoman of a select committee on small business, "proliferate faster than rabbits around here ... I'm certain there are meritorious issues to be studied and evaluated, but we have to start being more constrained in our readiness to approve new committees."

*Advertisement*

**When a person kills, we call it a crime. When the state kills, we call it justice.**

**But is it justice?**

- When only the poor are executed
- When the race of the victim and the accused predicts the sentence
- When innocent people are still sentenced to death
- When the mentally retarded are executed

The death penalty does not protect us - instead, it promotes violent crimes. An execution costs six times more than a life sentence. The death penalty does nothing to address those most in need - victims' families.

When the state kills, it makes each of us a killer. That's why, from October 13 to 22 we will march from Sacramento to San Quentin to protest killing by the state. If you believe that killing is not the way to show that killing is wrong, join us.

**Join Us:**

**MARCH AGAINST STATE KILLING**

**PARTICIPATION FORM**

Yes, I will oppose the resumption of executions in California in the following ways.

[ ] I pledge to march. [ ] part of a day [ ] one day or more
[ ] I pledge to attend the rally in. [ ] San Francisco (Oct. 21)
[ ] San Quentin (Oct. 22)
[ ] I will consider pledging to walk but need more information
[ ] I am willing to gather petition signatures. Please send me a petition form.
[ ] I will support the March with a tax-deductible contribution of $_____. Checks payable to Death Penalty Focus-March Fund

Name _____
Address _____
City State _____ Zip _____
Telephone Day ( ) _____ Evening _____

RETURN PARTICIPATION FORM TO: DEATH PENALTY FOCUS/MARCH MOBILIZATION
P.O. BOX 880, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94101

But most special committee chairpersons defended their panels. They said there are pertinent issues that require study, and that the committees develop legislation or improve certain aspects of California's economy, such as tourism and trade. Standing committee staffs are too bogged down analyzing a torrent of bills every year, leaving little time to look at the big picture, they contended. The Senate and Assembly research offices are too slow and often lack specific expertise in certain areas, they claimed. And finally, the Deukmejian administration has often rejected or ignored issues, leaving it up to the Legislature to take up the cause.

"We have more problems here in this state that have been made aware to us, and they need special attention," said Democratic Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles, chairman of a joint committee on refugees, and migration, a select committee on tourism and aviation, and a select committee on University of California admissions. "Most of these legislators work very hard on the subjects to which they are assigned."

Senator Mello, chairman of the quincentennial committee, said his panel is needed not only to help celebrate Columbus' travels, but to improve trade between Spain, Portugal and other European nations. "I come from the business community," he said. "I've been a successful businessman and the way I've become successful is to go out and promote my products."

A consultant for the Senate Select Committee on the Pacific Rim, chaired by Whittier Democrat Joseph Montoya, similarly defended his panel. Voicing an oft-repeated reasoning for many actions in the Capitol, he contended that California is one of the largest economies in the world and virtually has become a country in and of itself. Therefore, he continued, it must develop its own foreign trade policy — hence the Legislature's involvement in such issues.

But consider this: There is already a California World Trade Commission, created by the Legislature, whose sole purpose is to increase trade between this state and other countries. Confronted with that, Mello replied, "There is, but what the hell are they doing?"

What the agency is doing this year is spending $2.5 million, partially to operate and staff trade offices in London, Tokyo and Mexico City, with more to come. Executive Director Gregory Mignano said that while contacts between legislators and foreign businesses send a "strong signal" that California wants more trade, "nevertheless, the real business of trade is done in the trenches by California business executives. Trade is conducted on a business-to-business basis, not a government-to-government or a government-to-business basis."

It would appear, though, that contacts of the legislator-to-foreign government and legislator-to-foreign business variety will continue and increase, at considerable cost to the taxpayer. For example, in August the Legislature approved the creation of a new Joint Committee on International Trade, which will be chaired by Assemblywoman Killea. It joins the committees on the Columbus quincentennial, the Pacific rim, small business, state's economy, and a myriad of others which purport to be improving California's world-leading economic machine.

And why is there a need for a joint committee on international trade when there are so many other panels doing the same work? Senator Rose Ann Vuich, a Dinuba Democrat who introduced the resolution creating the trade committee, answered that query this way: "That's why this committee was formed, to find out which committees are duplicative of the others."


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COASTAL COMMISSION

# The beleaguered guardians of California's coast

By Michela Jarvis

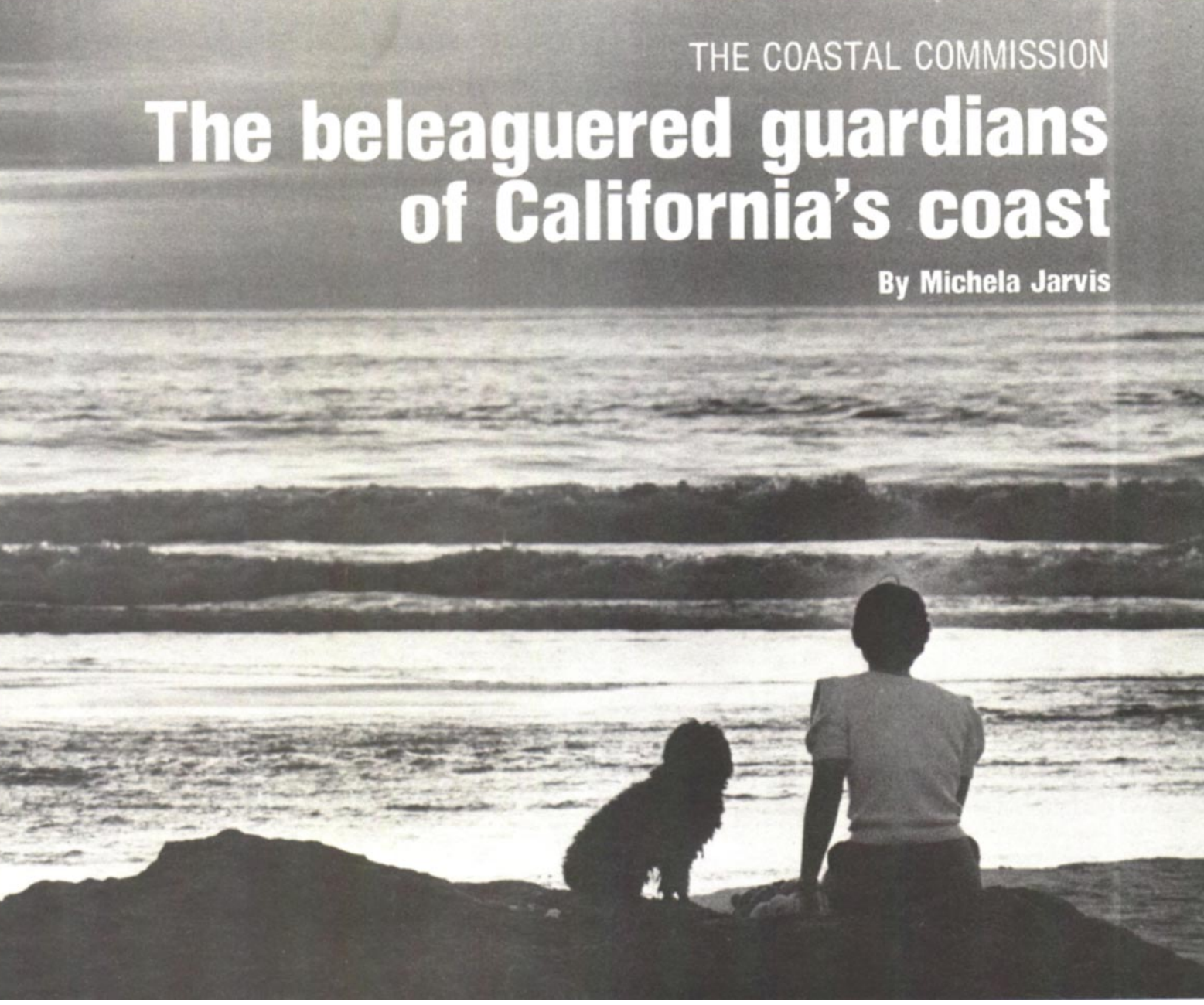


Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

When Chevron USA wanted to continue using ships instead of a pipeline to transport oil from new rigs off the Santa Barbara coast, they found the California Coastal commission standing squarely in their path — and wanting a few answers.

"Five years ago, Chevron committed to this commission to do its best to build a pipeline. How far advanced is that project?" asked one commissioner.

"We had exactly this session with the staff... let me get the date ..."

"Has it been built?"

*Pow.*

"No, it has not," confessed a Chevron representative.

"Why?"

*Bam.*

"It's clear to us that they have some major, major problems with a pipeline coming into L.A ... The other thing I mentioned earlier was that the business isn't there we thought was there."

"Do you think the business will be there in three months?"

*Bif.*

"Uhh, you know. You can predict the price of oil as well as I can, and that depends on the price of oil in the valley, the permittability of projects in the OCS ...."

"My question is simply, *(ouch)* 'is this an interim period, an extension to the time given to you to start building your pipeline? ... I cannot support any interim period that may just be a pipedream, no pipeline at all. I submit to you that Chevron does not want to build a pipeline, doesn't find it economically feasible *(thwack, crunch, arrgh)*, and we will get tankering for the rest of our lives. Now, they say that only one tanker a week would call to transport the oil. I wonder how many times a week did the Exxon Valdez call on Valdez? ... I will not support the project as presented to us today."

Motion rejected — 2 ayes, 7 noes.

And so a phalanx of Chevron's executives, sent in well-cut suits to the commission's August meeting in Eureka, limped home to recuperate before they would return to have

---

*Michela Jarvis is a freelance writer from San Francisco.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to fight again over the same issue with Santa Barbara County, the project's primary regulating agency.

At whose hands had they been so manhandled? Was this the same state commission whose budget had been so hacked by the governor since 1983 that its staff was asked in a recent memo from its executive director not to initiate long-distance phone calls, whose records may be in danger of being obliterated because its computer room is not adequately air-conditioned?

It was. Despite the efforts of Governor George Deukmejian to cripple the commission with budget cuts, it remains in the forefront of those groups wanting to protect the California coast from over-development.

"The Coastal Commission is the last line of defense for the coast," said Dan Haifley, of the environmental group Save Our Shores. "And it's being starved. It's like having your front lines out there but not sending them food or water. The amazing thing is they continue to fight."

Deukmejian has made no secret of his enmity toward the California Coastal Commission. When he was campaigning for governor in 1982 he called for the abolition of the Commission, which had been established by a voters' mandate passed with 55-percent support in 1972. The commission — then solidly environmentalist and reacting to the widespread commercialization of the coast in the 1960s — has since been criticized by the governor for butting into the lives of people living and working along the coast, requiring them to spend their time and money on what sometimes seemed more like coastal fashion — what color the trim ought to be on a vacation home, for instance — than coastal protection.

This was just the kind of thing the staunch Republican, anti-Big Brother Deukmejian hated. "The governor believes that decisions relative to California's precious coastline should be left to duly elected city councils and county boards of supervisors because they are directly accountable to the electorate, while the Commission is not," offered Deukmejian Press Secretary Kevin Brett.

Brett went on to say that the Commission had failed, somewhat deliberately, at its "main responsibility" — approving comprehensive plans by coastal cities and counties so they could regain control of their own jurisdictions — and has the keen will to live of a Hydra. "They're stalling because they don't want to go out of existence," Brett said.

Deukmejian battled the Commission when he was a state senator, and he has not softened his stance as governor despite the Legislature's bipartisan support for the Commission and its continued popularity with voters. Mel Nutter, a former chairman of the Commission, says Deukmejian was deaf to appeals on behalf of the Commission.

"From Governor Deukmejian's election in November of 1982, our Commission staff and I tried to set up some sort of meeting, conversation, communication with the governor, and it took until the summer of 1985, when the first and only meeting to date between the governor and any representative of the Coastal Commission took place," said Nutter. "When we apprised him of specific facts that were in conflict with what some of his staff had told him, it became absolutely clear that, although he had to accept the facts, they didn't matter. What he said, basically, was, 'If I had the votes, I'd get rid of you today.'"

At about the same time Nutter met with the governor, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that, not only did Californians think the Commission was a neat idea, they were willing to pay for it. Thirty-one percent of those polled said they would like to see more money allocated to the Commission than it had received before the budget cuts, 33 percent said the level of funding ought to be restored to the previous level, 22 percent said the Commission's budget should remain at its current reduced level, and 5 percent said the budget should be further reduced.

"It's one thing to be a member of the Legislature and have a certain philosophy," says Lois Ewen, a former Commissioner. "But to not listen as leader of the state is quite another. One ought to be even-handed as a leader."

While even Deukmejian's opponents label his bias for local government — which tends to allow more coastal development than does the Commission — a philosophical one, it did not escape the notice of development interests that they stood to benefit from the governor's position. In 1984 alone, according to Deukmejian's contribution-disclosure forms, the governor received more than $260,000 in contributions from companies and individuals clearly identified as being involved in oil or building, from the big-name oil panies down to a remarkable number of small paving companies.

At the time that establishment of the Coastal Commission was being debated, supporters of the initiative said it was these very interests that needed to be curtailed. And they cited a number of imminent plans, including:

- Bolinas Lagoon in Marin County, which was being considered for a 1600-berth marina with a hotel, restaurants and shopping mall;
- the Department of the Interior and the City of Los Angeles which had reached an agreement to build a desalinization and nuclear-power plant on a 40-acre island off Newport Beach; and,
- a convention center proposed for Lighthouse Point in Santa Cruz, and a nuclear-power plant for the nearby town of Davenport.

None of these projects came to fruition. And the Commission thinks that's something to brag about. In a news release marking its 15th anniversary, the Commission said that its accomplishments are often "views that have *not* been lost, rural areas that have *not* been subdivided, wetlands that have *not* been filled, public access that has *not* been lost and environmentally sensitive habitat that has *not* been destroyed."

But there have been changes over the years. Now perhaps the Commission's notorious niggling in household and small business remodelings and paint jobs is finally coming to an end. According to Commissioner Steve MacElvaine, the commissioners backed down at their August meeting in Eureka when they found themselves involved in the design of a bicycle rack for a small yogurt shop on Balboa Island — a situation which reportedly provoked Commissioner Charles Warren, one of the appointees of Democrat Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, to quip, "Maybe the governor was right."

"There was this gal just trying to get a bike rack and a stand-up table," said MacElvaine. "It was a perfect example of an instance where the Commission was getting involved in things that don't have a whole lot to do with the protection of the coast."

The Commission, particularly Commission staff, has its hands full with more far-reaching situations, and it has far too few resources to keep up. In May of 1988 a crisis situation resulted because the Commission, in conjunction with the Environmental Protection Agency, approved a plan to dump 500,000 cubic yards of mud and silt from a Port of Oakland expansion project into $5-million-per-year fishing grounds 26 miles southwest of the Golden Gate, near Half Moon Bay. After some 24,000 cubic yards had been dumped, fishermen,


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

the harbor district, and the County of San Mateo sued the Coastal Commission in state court. Pointing to the data used to determine the effect of the dumping, some of which was out of date and which made no mention of some of the many species of fish found in that area, the fishermen won a court order to stop the project.

"The fishing information that we had at that time wasn't accurate, and we didn't have the staff time to determine that. That was the key," said Jim Raives, coastal program analyst for the Commission. "Whether we would definitely have done something different if we'd had the resources, we can't say. But in retrospect, we can say there wasn't enough effort put into interviewing the fishermen at the site, and it slipped through the cracks."

The workload at the Coastal Commission, handled by 110 employees versus the 212 employed in 1980-81, is like a freight train threatening to careen out of control. Documents filed with various state agencies list a myriad of interrelated agency snafus that, at the Commission's current funding level, are unsolvable.

For instance, until the Commission can certify about 50 remaining incomplete coastal programs for local government (LCPs), responsibility for every project permit in those jurisdictions rests with the Commission, leaving little time to review a growing number of amendments requested by jurisdictions that do have their plans certified. In 1982-83 the Commission had 21 amendments on its agenda; in 1987-88 that number had risen to 74. And although the Coastal Act requires that LCPs be reviewed at least once every five years, not one has been reviewed. By July of this year 27 reviews were overdue, some by as much as three years.

According to a budget-change proposal filed with the state Department of Finance, speeding up the certification — to get to the pending amendments, so that the reviews will be possible — is not feasible since the Commission can provide neither technical nor legal assistance to local governments. Nor is data from past decisions complete or compiled in a way that would make it accessible to these local jurisdictions.

Meanwhile, little on-site inspection is possible by staff members, forcing the Commission to rely on often vague written descriptions of projects in making their determinations. Administrative records necessary to bring legal challenges of Commission actions are not prepared. Funds are not sufficient for north coast area staff — which had to move to the Commission's San Francisco headquarters following the closure of its Eureka office — to travel there to conduct its business. And that headquarters office, which is also proposed to accommodate staff from closure-threatened offices in Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz, already does not meet state and local codes regarding safety, handicap access, and a suitable working environment. Clerical staff is unable to complete its workload, and it falls back on already overburdened professional staff.

Enforcement of the Commission's decisions through a penalty assessment system — the backbone of the Commission's regulatory work — is perhaps one of the most backlogged of the agency's responsibilities. One full-time staff person and part-time student interns in the San Francisco headquarters handle an enforcement area of thousands of square miles and the 65,000 permits that the Commission has issued to date. In 1985 there were 477 pending cases of violations of the coastal act. In 1987 pending cases had mounted to 762. In the second quarter of 1988 only 70 cases were closed.

"We cannot effectively pursue violations even when we know they are occurring," said Commissioner Robert Franco.

These numbers reflect only the cases that have come to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the attention of the Commission through occasional staff field visits and reports by citizens. In some recently reported cases in Malibu, whole mountain ridges have been graded over before the Commission was even made aware of any activity.

When cases do get to court, "a very low percentage" of them can be successfully litigated, according to Nancy Cave, the statewide enforcement coordinator. "We are not able to get things in a time that allows that."

One commissioner has suggested that some applicants have been agreeing to conditions on their permits only because they know they can go out and violate them without fear of being caught or prosecuted.

A report prepared by the state Senate's Advisory Commission on Cost Control in State Government had this to say about the Commission funding and staff levels: "The bottom line is that, at current resource levels, the Commission is unable to fully perform its duties under the law. Aside from defying the will of the public as expressed by its continued strong support for the Commission's goals, such budget restraints on this type of regulatory agency are not cost-effective. Over the long run, redressing the adverse effects of poor planning and oversight of coastal development will cost the state much more than the few million dollars saved by cutting the Commission's budget in half."

Perhaps partly because the Commission was already suffering the attacks of the governor, it seems to have become a political throw-away, even for the speaker of the Assembly and for the Senate Rules Committee, responsible for appointing four commissioners each to the 12-member Commission and once reliable to provide some environmentalist counterweight to Deukmejian's four appointments.

In 1986, for instance, Senate Rules Committee Chairman David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat, appointed San Diego contractor Gilbert Contreras to the Commission, reportedly to placate a conservative caucus within his own party. Later, Contreras was unceremoniously removed from his post just minutes before a vote on an issue on which he was thought to disagree with Roberti.

Two of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's appointees — Mark Nathanson and David Malcolm — are big campaign fund-raisers for Brown who side alternately with environmentalists and developers, often casting the swing votes in multimillion-dollar projects.

Aimed at rectifying some of the Commission's problems are several measures pending in the state Legislature. But Commission-backers are not sanguine about their chances. The governor this year cut another $651,000 from the Commission's $9.1 million budget, allowing only a cost-of-living increase, and Commission officials expect operating and staff will have to be cut by 10 percent. Should any legislation make it to Deukmejian, vetoes are expected.

"I guess anything that involves the coastal Commission is not going to be looked on too favorably," said Donna Blitzer, an aide to Democratic Assemblyman Sam Farr of Monterey. "It's certainly questionable what will happen to these bills once they reach the governor's desk."

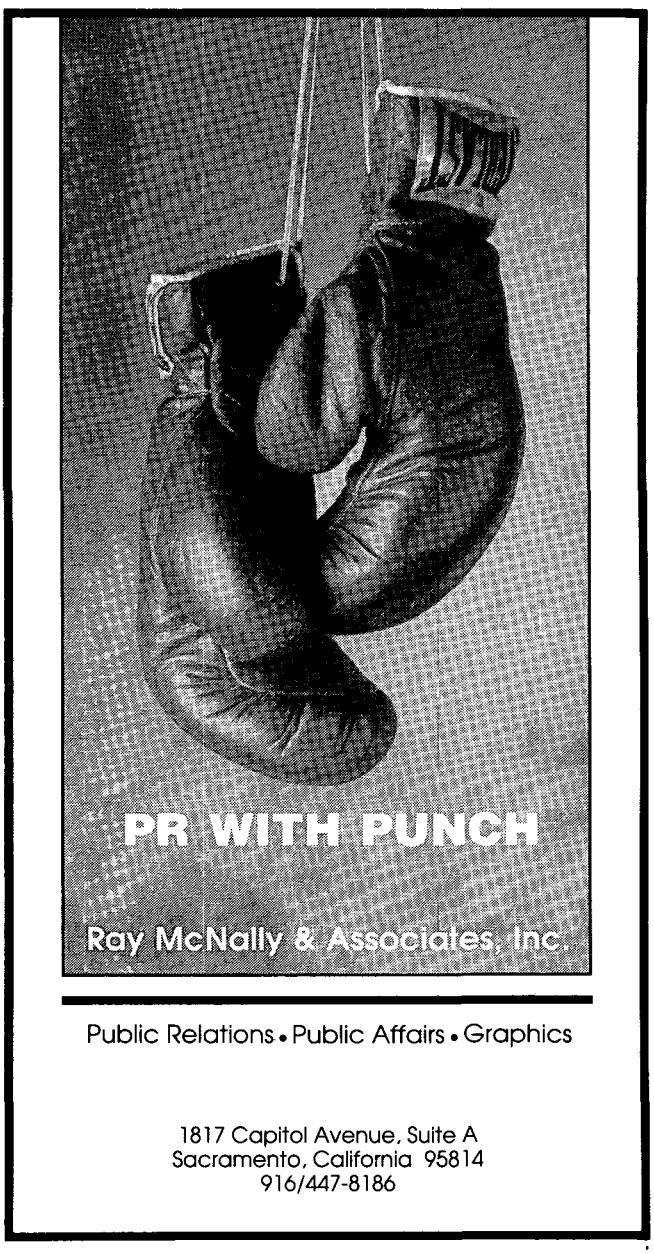
One bill would give the Commission the authority to issue cease and desist orders to violators of coastal permits. This would save time and money, since the Commission would no longer have to bring such matters to court to stop activity on illegal projects. Another would categorically prohibit any new development in wetlands or that would degrade wetlands. A third would limit commissioners' private discussion of Commission matters and is thought of as a means to help restore the Commission's nonpolitical, quasi-judicial nature.

But most agree that the drowning Commission will just have to tread water and hope it can beat off the occasional shark headed toward the coast until a new governor can become the Commission's lifeguard in 1991. All of the leading gubernatorial contenders — U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, Attorney General John Van de Kamp and former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein — have shown more support for the Commission. Republican Wilson was one of the authors of the original coastal bills.

"What's afoot to restore any coastal protections that have been lost? Well, the most promising measure is to get Deukmejian out of office," said former Coastal Commissioner Phyllis Faber.

"We decided, as a Commission, to avoid a hard line of reaction to the governor because it's counterproductive," said Commissioner Franco. "Even if Wilson gets the governorship, he will be an incredible improvement over Deukmejian. The Commission will find sensitivity in the governor's office. All we can do is be as patient and diligent as we can until then."

*Advertisement*


PR WITH PUNCH
Ray McNally & Associates, Inc.
Public Relations • Public Affairs • Graphics
1817 Capitol Avenue, Suite A
Sacramento, California 95814
916/447-8186



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

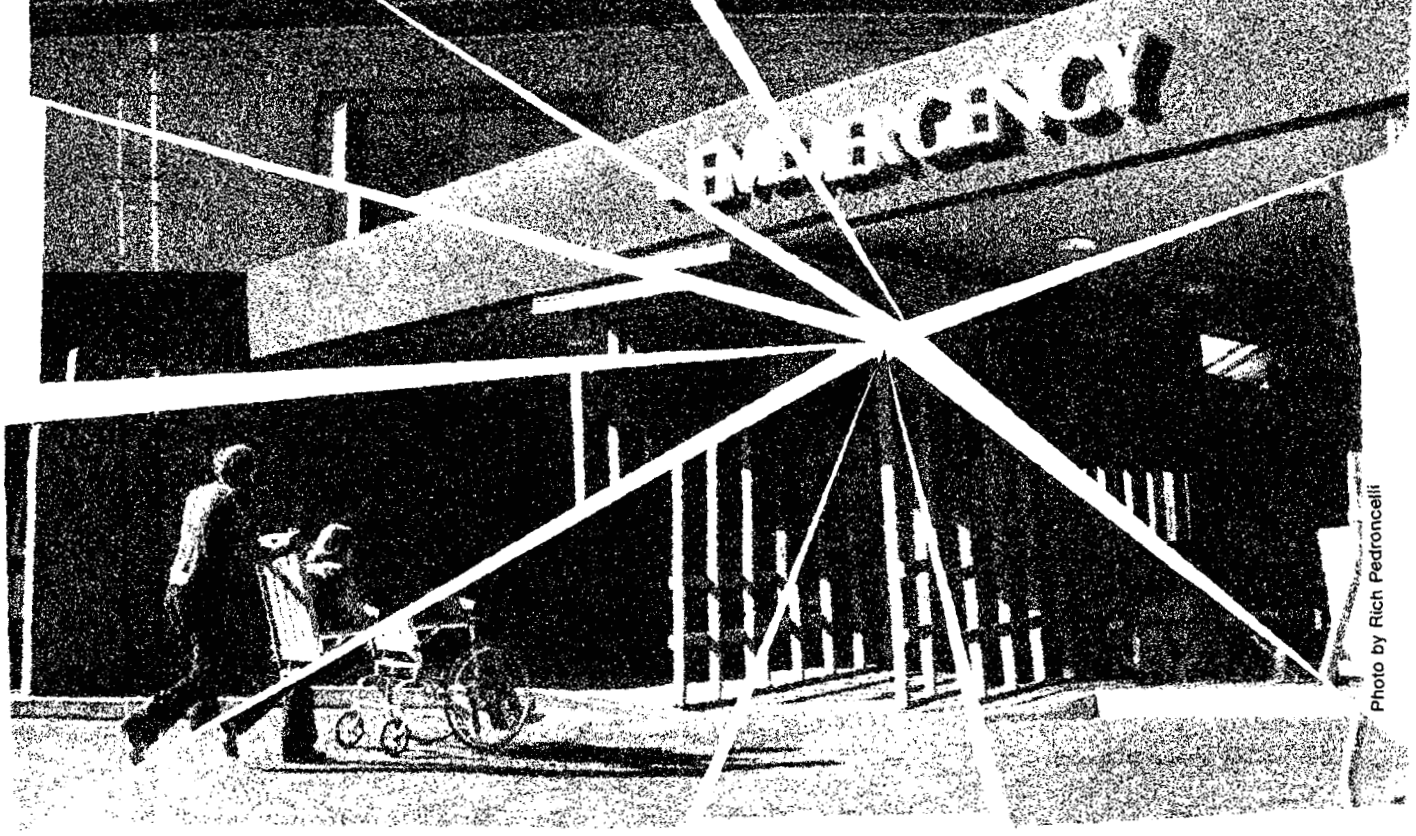



Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

A CRISIS IN EMERGENCY CARE

# Don't get hurt in California

**By Ann Bancroft**

• *An Oakland man, shot in the stomach by an intruder, dies three minutes before arriving at the closest emergency room that will accept him — 20 miles away in suburban Walnut Creek.*

• *On the third weekend in June, 23 Los Angeles-area hospitals closed their emergency rooms for varying lengths of time. All had reached "saturation" point — intensive-care beds full and emergency rooms crowded to maximum capacity.*

• *The University of California, Irvine, Medical Center last June began posting security guards outside of its overflowing maternity ward to warn women showing up on an emergency basis to go elsewhere. Nine women in labor were turned away in a four-day period in late July. The hospital's deliveries increased by 100 babies a month after two nearby hospitals decided to stop treating Medi-Cal patients.*

Say "emergency-care system" to doctors, hospital administrators, ambulance drivers or academicians and the responses range from "impending crisis" to "unmitigated disaster."

The condition of the state's emergency rooms is both critical and unstable, and the situation is expected to get worse before it gets better, hospital officials and observers say. The roots of the problem are complex and interlocking, involving health insurance, hospital technology, federal and state funding, liability and nursing shortages.

*Ann Bancroft is a freelance writer in Sacramento.*

With nearly a quarter of the state's population — 5.2 million people — uninsured, the state's emergency rooms have become the first and last resort for health care for millions of Californians. People who don't qualify for Medi-Cal but can't afford insurance on their own frequently defer treatment for routine medical problems until the problems become acute. Then costlier, riskier emergency treatment is necessary.

A child's ear infection, untreated, shows up in the emergency room as a ruptured eardrum requiring surgery. A woman, having had no prenatal care, goes to the emergency room to deliver her baby, which is low-weight, high-risk and in need of neo-natal intensive care.

"Emergency rooms are becoming the repository of the fact that we don't have a health-care system that is working," says Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, a Fresno Democrat who is chairman of the Assembly Health Committee. "In a sensible system you do just the opposite — get as many people as possible into primary, preventive care. What we're doing is the reverse. Emergency rooms are the only point of entry [to health care] for many people, and it's doubling, tripling, quadrupling costs."

County hospitals, traditionally the caretakers of the medically indigent, are frequently filled to capacity in their intensive care units, and must "divert" such patients to private hospitals. In January, a survey of eight county hospitals by the California Public Hospital Association found that county hospital emergency rooms were closed to new admissions an average of 42 percent of the time, with urban facilities closed nearly 60 percent of the time. Financially-strapped



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counties, particularly those with large indigent populations, can increasingly neither afford to staff enough beds for medically indigent emergency cases nor to pay private hospitals for their care. The Legislature eased the problem somewhat by deciding that counties will get the lion's share of $1.3 billion that will be raised from increased cigarette taxes over the next 30 months.

"It's really an unmitigated disaster," says Carol Emmott, executive director of the public hospital association. "These patients spill over to the private sector, which has provoked a lot of friction between the public and private sectors. We have this ping-pong effect, and in fact patients are dying from being shifted from hospital to hospital."

Emergency rooms, Emmott says, "are where the conflicting mandates of society really hit the road. On the one hand, hospitals are asked to be profitable, market-driven beings, and on the other hand they are asked to be charitable social-service providers. The only way they can protect themselves from that predicament is to close their emergency rooms."

By law, private hospitals with emergency rooms must treat anyone who shows up with a medical emergency, regardless of the patient's ability to pay. Last year, California hospitals reported a record $2.7 billion in losses, including $1 billion in care for uninsured patients, $1 billion in underpayment for Medi-Cal patients and $600 million in treating patients covered by federal MediCare, according to C. Duane Dauner, president of the California Association of Hospitals and Health Systems.

The association claims Medi-Cal pays just 67 cents for every dollar it costs hospitals to treat state-insured patients — mostly those on welfare. State funding for medically indigent adults — those without money or insurance yet ineligible for Medi-Cal — has decreased under the Deukmejian administration to 50 cents on the dollar because it has not kept up with population increases and inflation, according to the Assembly Health Committee.

"It doesn't take a genius to figure out that the way to stop this [financial] hemorrhage from the hospital is to close one door — the emergency room," says California Medical Association President William Plested, a Santa Monica cardiovascular surgeon. "Every other entrance to the hospital can be controlled."

Since 1981 federal, state and private health-insurance plans have switched from a system of paying hospitals their "reasonable costs" of treating patients to paying set amounts based on a patient's diagnosis. For example, a hospital is paid the same for removing a spleen as part of routine pre-operative treatment as it is for removing a ruptured spleen, a much more costly and complicated operation. Hospitals were no longer able to "cost shift," or include the cost of charity care in their charges to government and private insurance companies. At the same time, reimbursement rates from the federal and state government have not kept pace with increases in the indigent population or inflation in hospital costs.

Emergency rooms, particularly trauma centers, were hit hardest by the problem of under-reimbursement because of the expensive, specialized care required for emergency and critical cases.

In Los Angeles County, 10 hospitals since 1985 have closed their trauma centers — emergency rooms equipped with fully staffed surgical centers available at all hours to treat

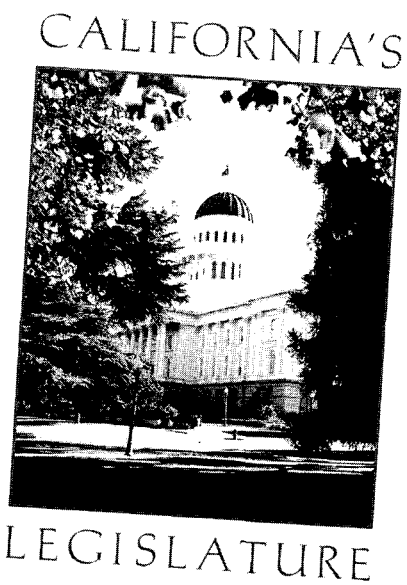
*Advertisement*

**CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATURE**

**by James Driscoll**

Former Chief Clerk
of the Assembly

**California's Legislature** by *James Driscoll.* This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the capitol building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6" x 9", 256 pages, paperbound, $4.95.






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical injuries. The county's trauma network, designed to ensure that victims of traumatic injuries could be taken by ambulance to a trauma center within 20 minutes, now has gaps of up to 45 miles.

As private hospital emergency rooms fill to capacity with patients who can't pay for their care, fewer physicians are willing to serve "on call" emergency room cases, creating a shortage of specialists — particularly obstetricians and orthopedic surgeons — to care for even those patients who might be able to pay for their hospital costs. Added to the problem is a shortage of nurses statewide that has led to nurses' strikes at several hospitals. The cost constraints, combined with increasing numbers of uninsured, have resulted in what many health-care officials describe as an irrational system of health-care rationing.

"Most people don't like to admit we are currently rationing health care," says Dr. Larry Bedard, chairman of California Emergency Physicians, who practices at Marin General Hospital. "I think we have a four- or five-tiered health-care system already," he says, adding that those who can afford private indemnity insurance are offered the best care and most choices, group-insurance plan members are offered fewer choices, MediCal recipients very limited choices and the uninsured are frequently without access to health care when they need it.

E. Richard Brown, associate professor of UCLA's School of Public Health, warns, "People who feel very comfortable and protected right now because they have insurance could end up in the morgue because that hospital emergency room that they simply assumed would be there for them has its doors locked."

Legislative attempts to address the issue range from universal health-care plans to a variety of proposals for spending some $300 million a year generated by the Proposition 99 tobacco tax approved by voters last year.

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's AB 350 would require employers of five or more full-time workers to pay 75 percent of their employees' health insurance beginning in 1993. Assemblyman Burt Margolin, a Los Angeles Democrat, has advanced a more comprehensive measure, AB 328, to create a universal health plan to provide insurance for all Californians, subsidized by a payroll tax, the cigarette tax and some Medi-Cal funds. Senator Barry Keene, a Democrat from Benicia, proposes in SB 1207 to allow businesses with 25 or fewer employees to deduct a quarter of their health insurance costs from their state income tax.

Governor George Deukmejian, while indicating a willingness to work on some health-insurance plan, is unwilling to sign any bill that places the bulk of the health insurance burden on businesses.

Like most of the thorniest state issues, health insurance is expected to wind up on the ballot in the form of initiatives in 1990.

Health Access, a statewide coalition of 90 health, consumer and civil-rights organizations, is expected to put an initiative on the ballot with provisions, similar to Margolin's bill, to create universal health coverage funded by a payroll tax. Hospital and physicians' organizations are discussing an alcohol tax initiative to fund health insurance.

The money from Proposition 99 cigarette taxes will at least be a stopgap measure to prevent the closing of more emergency rooms. It will provide the $300 million counties say they need immediately to shore up the emergency care safety net.

"Relative to the problem, it's a small pot of money, but everyone is fighting over it because they are so desperate," says Bronzan. "In the end, no one is going to be really happy with the way the Legislature resolves Prop 99."

The plight of emergency rooms, particularly in Los Angeles, is "enough to make a person cry," laments Brown of UCLA.

"At the same time, if we just continue to throw all of our resources into rescuing these institutions from the abyss, we will never be able to make the kinds of reforms and changes that can permanently bring them back from the abyss and make our system function."

*Advertisement*

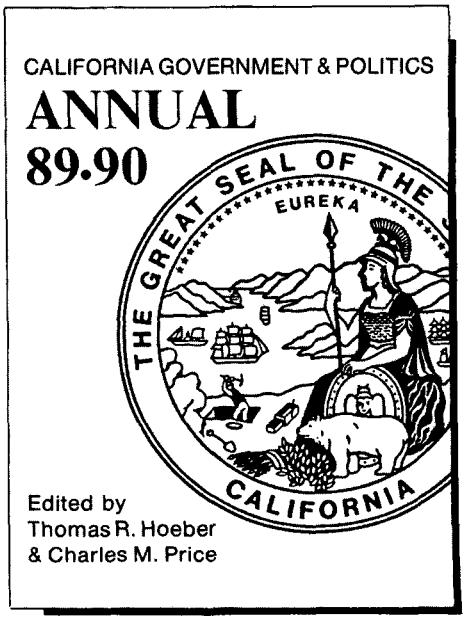
# New from *California Journal*

## California Government and Politics Annual, 1989-90

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

The brand-new 20th edition of *California Journal*'s **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1989-90 edition contains chapters on the various branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, the press, direct democracy, local government, and current issues. The 128-page, large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus tax.






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# "Just a minute of your time, Senator ..."

Getting a minute sounds easy enough until you find everyone has an agenda these days. Getting yours in front of the right people takes time, perseverance, professionalism, and yes, hard dollars invested in lobbying.

At Classical KSAC, we haven't overlooked the importance of broadcasting in the state capital. We know you have important things to say to our listeners and our leaders on education, crime, taxes, the environment, business, and more. We want to help you get that message to the people who make a difference.

The classical music listener is twice as likely as the average adult to have ...

... visited an elected official
... written the editor of a newspaper
... actively worked for a political cause

So if you're trying to reach a constituency, build a coalition, or be heard by a decision-maker, let us tell you what a difference a minute can make.

**Contact Felipe Garza or Jeffrey Fekete at 916/446-2294.**

CLASSICAL
KSAC
1240 AM

1021 SECOND STREET • SACRAMENTO, CA 95814 • (916) 446-2294

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

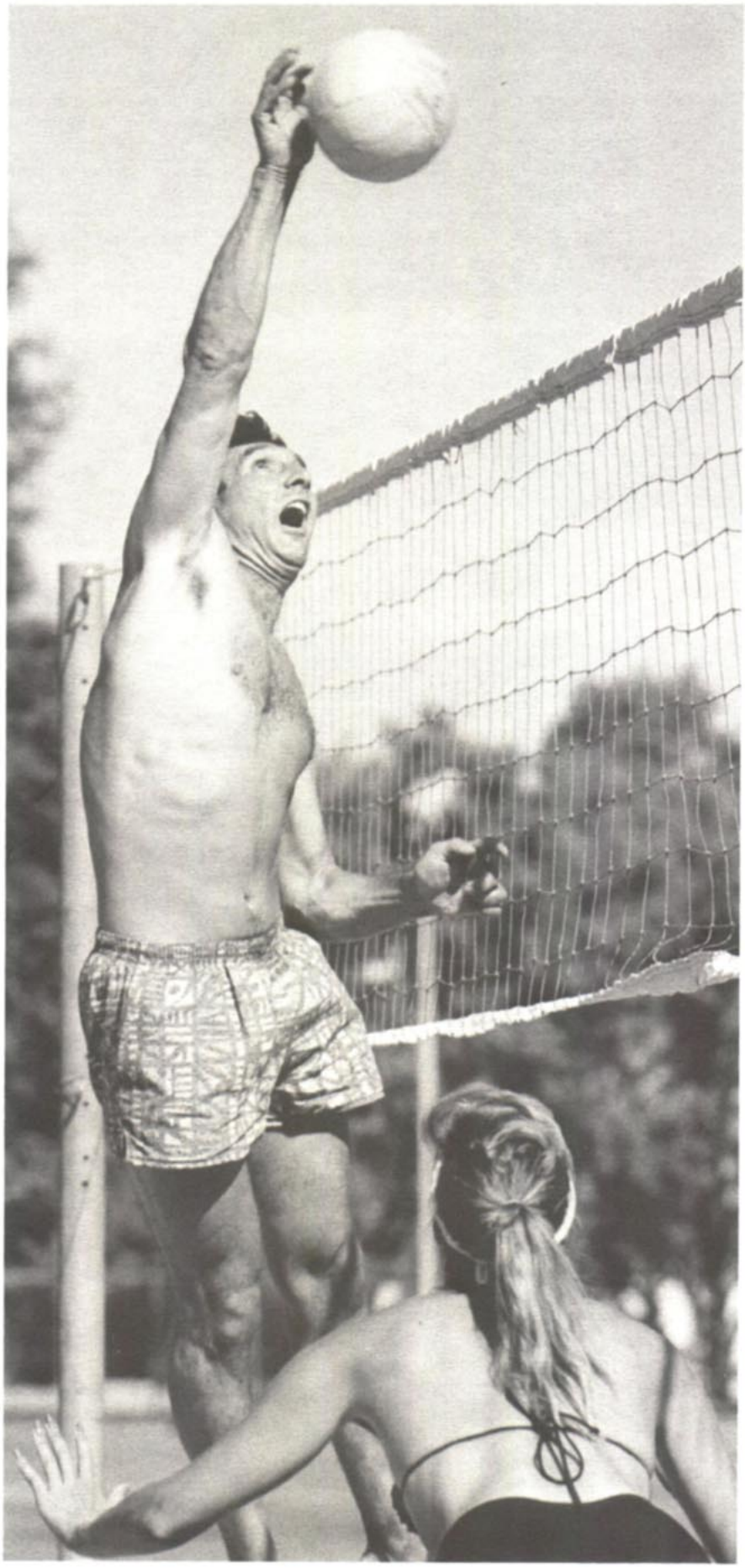


Photo by Micha Langer

# Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan

## Hammering his way to the top

**By Ellen Robinson-Haynes**

Fresno's Bruce Bronzan is a man of varied passions. Politics and the crafting of public policy rank high among them. But the 41-year-old assemblyman has other passions as well. Family, good books, camping, theatre, photography, astronomy, music of every kind.

And then there's volleyball. The man is crazy about volleyball. And it's no accident that he's good at it.

"It's so much a team game," said his volleyball mentor and good friend, John Donaldson of Fresno. "For every

---

*Ellen Robinson-Haynes covers medicine for* The Sacramento Bee.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

# 1989 ROSTER ON DISKETTE

All the names and addresses in the *1989 Roster and Government Guide* are now available in computer-readable format.

The new *1989 Roster on Diskette* makes it possible for you to create personalized mailings and custom lists and directories of your own design without the headache of entering the *Roster* data yourself.

Numerous formats are available on one IBM-compatible diskette. (An Apple-Macintosh HyperCard "stack" version is available from another source. Call for information.) The purchase price includes the right to update your diskette for only $5.00 each anytime for the one year (just send in your original diskette with $5.00, and an updated diskette with the latest changes will be sent by return mail).

Formats available: Each diskette contains one set of the data in standard ASCII delimited format and one other format: dBase Word Perfect, WordStar, PFS or PC-Write.

***If you mail just one letter to the Legislature this year, this will more than pay for itself.***

To place your order send $49.00 plus $2.94 sales tax and $2.00 handling to:

**California Journal Diskette**
**1714 Capitol Avenue**
**Sacramento, CA 95814**

Be sure to specify data format.

Trademarks: IBM, International Business Machines Corporation; dBase, Ashton Tate Inc.,; WordStar, MicroPro International; WordPerfect, WordPerfect Corporation; Apple Macintosh & HyperCard, Apple Computer Inc.

play, three people are having to handle the ball and work together. That makes it different from any other game."

It also makes volleyball the perfect metaphor for Bruce Bronzan's life.

Long-time friends, family members and his political allies agree that Bronzan is the consummate team player.

"One of the things about Bruce that is admired by almost everybody who knows him is that he really does listen," said Richard Butrick, a Bronzan friend for more than 20 years. "And he gets along with people very well."

"Bruce is one of the truly committed members of the Legislature who just exudes creativity," said Maeley Tom who, as chief administrative officer for the Assembly showed Bronzan the ropes when he was first elected in 1982. "There's been such a lull and such a sense that there's no talent within the upcoming Democratic arena. But Bruce represents a future leader who can present the dynamic leadership that the Democrats are looking for. He has that fire-in-the-belly emotion that somehow a lot of Democrats have lost."

Bronzan fans abound. And even those whose politics predict they will frequently disagree with the fourth-term assemblyman find him to be an infinitely reasonable man.

"A lot of people look at issues as being black or white," said Bronzan. "Then they find which side of the issue is their side, and they line up with it. But I tend to look at issues as being lots of shades of grey, on both sides. The real trick is to find the truth and the falsity to both and then come up with some sort of a net truth."

Nick Bronzan believes his son, who was student body president from junior high school through graduation at Fresno State, was born a peacemaker.

"He's always had an ability to look at both sides," said the senior Bronzan, a retired YMCA director. "He's always been able to find that middle ground to where both opposing forces felt like he was on their side and that he was understanding them."

Though at age 17 the younger Bronzan was even elected youth governor with the Y's Model Legislature and Court Program, his future as a politician was far from certain. There was a time, according to his father, when Bronzan contemplated the ministry. Instead he majored in political science and earned a teaching credential during the turbulent '60s. Upon graduation from Fresno State, he earned a prestigious fellowship with the Coro Foundation, which conducts a nationwide leadership-training program for 12 outstanding students each year. He then went on to earn a master's degree at Occidental College and became a teacher. But a few years later he left teaching to head up a drug and alcohol treatment program for Fresno Community Hospital. That experience presaged his future.

"Alcoholism is one of the worst afflictions that can come upon a person and certainly one of the worst forms of drug addiction in the world," said the unpretentious Bronzan. "And it was a real eye-opener to learn and understand the nature of that and how totally devastating it is to the family."

It was during those years that Bronzan saw first-hand the state's public and mental health systems at work and in disarray.

In 1975, when a seat opened on the Fresno County Board of Supervisors, Bronzan gave it a shot. Out of nearly 150,000 votes, he won by a mere 17.

"When I was on the board of supervisors, I found out something that I think is important to this day: Politically speaking, health care is a lose-lose situation," said Bronzan, who became chair of the Assembly's Ways and Means Subcommittee on Health and Welfare in 1985. "Health care — and especially public health care — is more a political football than it is something for which there are political rewards for improving."

But as a junior supervisor in Fresno County, Bronzan had little choice. He accepted and would later embrace his assignments on the Hospital Council and the Health Advisory Board.

"I ended up liking the field," said Bronzan, whose wife of 21 years is a nurse-practitioner. "I thought it was a fascinating, powerful and important area of human activity."

After mastering policy-making at the county level, Bronzan moved to the California Legislature in 1982, bringing with him a commitment to health issues and an idealism that remains nearly palpable four terms later.

"Politics is probably one of the most challenging walks of life one could attempt to go into," he said. "It's where you go in America if you want to change things and try to improve the whole policy framework and the way people live."

But Bronzan admits that politics has a dark side and that the California Legislature has distinguished itself by some phenomenally stubborn stalemates.

"In some spectacular areas, the Legislature has had some great difficulty in getting off of dead center," said



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bronzan. "We've had a very difficult time getting anything through on auto-insurance reform. We've had a very difficult time or any kind of health insurance reform. Before I was here the Legislature stalled and couldn't get anything through on property tax reform."

Yet Bronzan is far from disillusioned.

"In fairness to the Legislature," he said, "there are hundreds and thousands of areas where the Legislature does a lot of work and a lot of good work that isn't as spectacular and isn't as visible. And it has done that all the way through this whole period."

Pointing to the transportation proposal, changes in the state spending limit and the distribution of education moneys, he calls this session an astonishingly productive one.

"When we started the year, I don't think anyone could have predicted we would be able to accomplish as much as we have," said Bronzan, who says there has been an easing this year of partisan sword-rattling from both the Legislature and the administration.

"There will always be a partisan environment here," he said. "That's how you do it. It's like the loyal opposition and it's a very important function. But there are times when it can go too far, when the teams are too preoccupied with it and then the policy product is weaker. When it's less, when there's more cooperation, you will see the policy product is stronger."

Partisanship has also eased, Bronzan said, because California's problems have become so critical.

"I think most of the systems in California have already fallen apart," he said. "The freeway system is really terrible. The educational system has really fallen from its once lofty position."

And then there's health — an area where Bronzan, named head of the Assembly's Health Committee this year, keeps returning.

"It is distressing," said Bronzan. "The closer you get to it, the more you end up realizing how much needs to be done. It's an area that is in severe crisis itself right now, and it needs a great deal of attention."

Excluding Health and Welfare Secretary Cliff Allenby and Department of Health chief Ken Kizer, Bronzan harshly criticizes the governor and his administration's collective apathy toward health issues.

"I get the feeling that the people he has around him have a general antipathy to health care and they have somehow conveyed that to him," said Bronzan. "There have been so many comments he's made and so many responses to legislative efforts on our part that seem to reflect an attitude towards the counties, for example, that he really doesn't believe that they're hurting on the medical side of services."

But Bronzan believes the administration is coming around on health issues, in part because it has no choice.

"The problems in California have really become very, very serious over the last several years, and they're so serious at almost every level that it's im-


*Advertisement*

**Master**

# The Name Game

**with**

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

# Newsfile

The monthly newsletter for Capitol Insiders

Published and edited by the same people who bring you *California Journal*, **NEWSFILE** compiles information vital to tracking the people who run state government. **NEWSFILE**'s monthly features include:

- ✔ Gubernatorial appointments
- ✔ Lobbyist registrations and terminations
- ✔ Legislative committee changes
- ✔ PAC registrations
- ✔ Lists of state government reports
- ✔ Calendar

This hard-to-obtain information is mailed to you First Class 12 times a year for only $55.

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
Newsfile
Volume VI, No. 7
July 10, 1989
NEWSMAKERS
Deddeh
Campbell
Matsui
Rothenberg
Newsmakers continued on page 3
INSIDE
Lobbyists.....2
Reports.....2
PACS.....4
Legislature.....6
Calendar.....6
FEATURE LIST
EDUCATION OFFICIALS

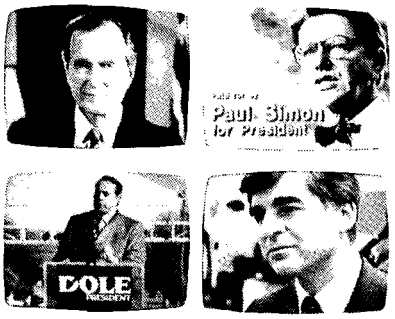
If you would like to receive a free examination copy without obligation, just call (916) 444-2840 or write **NEWSFILE** 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

Best in the Business.




The best in political advertising–a videotape of every television commercial broadcast by the candidates in the 1988 Presidential campaign.

Sixty ads–every spot that appeared from Iowa to Michigan. We also carry the best of '84 and '86, as well as '88 General Election and '88 Congressional, Gubernatorial, and State.

Only $75 per tape, Beta or VHS.

ARISTOTLE INDUSTRIES
205 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 543-8345 • (800) 243-4401
MC/VISA/AMEX

Advertisement

LOBBYISTS!
YOU RELY ON GOOD CONNECTIONS.
RELY ON US!

Computer systems
Specialized software
Networking
Service
Training

SIERRA DIGITAL
2701 Cottage Wy., #2
Sacramento, CA 95825
(916) 483-4585
Since 1981

possible not to recognize them," he said.

Bronzan expects some major changes that will address the biggest health problem facing both California and the nation: the lack of access to health care by millions and millions of Americans.

"I've seen more discussion about the problems of the uninsured and the problems of the health-care system in the last year than in the last 10 or 12 years combined," said Bronzan. "It's astonishing."

A Kaiser Permanente subscriber, Bronzan would like to see eliminated what he believes are the health system's vast inefficiencies before rationing of health care is seriously considered. And he wants to see the use of expensive and expanding medical technology carefully controlled as well.

"It's very difficult to say we're going to start rationing care to our grandparents or to our children when we're not effectively managing the health care that we have now and bringing it into line," said Bronzan, who believes that managed-care systems will be a large part of the solution.

Bronzan's views on abortion are equally clear cut. Long a pro-choice advocate, the father of two believes reproductive choices belong firmly in the hands of individual women.

"I am very uncomfortable with having a group of people in the Legislature make a decision for women who are facing something that difficult, that important and that unique to their personal lives," he said.

But he remains a strong advocate for children, whose fate he believes is severely imperiled.

"One of the many things that's fallen in California is how we care for children," said Bronzan. "At one point we were generally regarded in the vanguard of the nation, and now we're basically watching states a fraction of our size going much further and doing much better than we are. We don't intervene early when we could with simple, inexpensive kinds of interventions into children's lives and their families' lives when they could most benefit from the help."

Surrounded by what he sees as severe competing crises, Bronzan has become a master at setting priorities.

"To me of all the things, we do the worst of all in caring for people who are severely mentally ill," said Bronzan, who early in his career headed the Assembly's Select Committee on Mental Health. "That is rock-bottom worst. We have 30,000 to 40,000 people who are totally disabled with severe mental illness who are absolutely homeless. They're not only not getting any care, but they don't have any shelter or any food or any clothing. We've committed them to a life of continuous nightmare on the streets, where they are preyed upon by the meanest spirited among us."

The Fresno legislator has won high praise for his commitment to the mentally ill.

"He is the first person since [now deceased Assemblyman] Frank Lanterman retired who has said mental health is a major priority and has the kind of will to make things happen," said Richard Van Horn, who heads the Los Angeles Mental Health Association. "The issues he's taken on have been watershed issues."

But they, and all his other political passions, take their toll on Bronzan. He's away from home at least three or four nights a week. He puts in marathon hours in his modest fourth-floor Capitol office. He doesn't play volleyball nearly as often as he'd like. And the photos he's taken of his children — prominent reminders of this public man's private life — are now several years out of date.

He refuses to speculate about his future in politics, although he has hired a political public-relations firm to promote his activities. He says he will only stay in public service as long as he has fun doing it.

Others, however, see Bronzan as part of a new generation of charismatic politicians who have the potential to ignite the public's imagination. Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, a San Jose Democrat, sees Bronzan as a risk-taker who could make an excellent governor. And Assembly Speaker Willie Brown thinks Bronzan could benefit from recent proposals to "wire" the state Capitol with a gavel-to-gavel television coverage.

"Certainly the time I came into California state politics is one of its most difficult periods," said Bronzan. "It has bigger problems and less money to work with than it's ever had in its history. And the state is changing dramatically, so its problems are becoming more critical.

"There are all kinds of levels of frustration in this job. But there are also the times that you see something that you did that made it all the way through and got signed and in fact was helpful to someone. Even though it's a complicated process and involves a lot of different people, you still feel you left a little bit of a mark and perhaps it was all worth something."


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawing by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

# Crib death

## Personal tragedy moves Legislature to act

**By Steven A. Capps**

Thirteen days after their beautiful baby boy, Derek, was born in a Sacramento hospital, John and Lisa Morris awoke on a sunny Saturday morning to find him lying lifeless between them.

Horrified, they summoned paramedics and performed cardiopulmonary resuscitation while waiting for the ambulance to arrive. Still unconscious, the baby was rushed to the hospital.

As John and Lisa arrived at the hospital, they were asked to accompany a doctor into the "social services room." Lisa gasped. A licensed psychologist who had worked in hospitals, Lisa knew about that room. It was where doctors told people that a loved one had died.

The doctor delivered the grim news: For no apparent reason, their baby was dead. How could such a thing happen, the parents wondered? How could their son be dead when he wasn't even sick? Their questions went unanswered for six weeks and then a pathologist told them the official cause would be listed as sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS), commonly known as "crib death."

The Morrises had spent the weeks before the pathologist's report wondering what had claimed their son's life, and they had been forced to consider all the grim possibilities.

"You think that you killed your kid in some way," said Lisa.

"Because there is no answer, your mind starts thinking up the most incredible answers," said John. Had he rolled over on Derek during the night and suffocated him? John is a teacher; had he picked up some terrible disease from one of his students and transmitted it to his son?

For two weeks after his son's death, John had the same dream every night. Everyone he knew — his family, his friends — were dead, and lying in caskets.

Theirs' was not a unique story.

Doctors do not know what causes SIDS. Some believe it is related to the developing brain, but that is mostly because two decades of research into other possible causes, centered on the lungs and heart, have failed to provide any clues.

What they do know is that about 800 babies born every year in California die of SIDS, as do about 7000 a year nationwide. They know that male babies are more likely to die from SIDS than are female babies; first-born babies are more likely to be struck than later children.

They know that the highest percentage of SIDS deaths — about 33 percent — occur in the winter and the lowest — 17

---

*Steven A. Capps covers Sacramento for the* San Francisco Examiner.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

percent — are reported in the summer. Most of the deaths occur between midnight and 9 a.m. while a baby is sleeping.

California government had largely ignored the problem, until it was brought to a state senator's attention in a most tragic way.

Senator Daniel Boatwright, a Concord Democrat, was having lunch with one of his top aides — Barry Brokaw — last

Photo By Bryan Patrick, courtesy of *The Sacramento Union*

**Karen and Barry Brokaw, their son Brien, and a photo of their son Kevin**

November when Brokaw was summoned for an emergency telephone call. Brokaw's three-month old son, Kevin, had been taken to the hospital.

Later, at the hospital with the senator at his side, Brokaw learned that his baby son — the "picture of health," as described by Boatwright — was dead. Later he would learn the cause of death was SIDS.

During this legislative session, Boatwright said he was determined to try to ease the pain of not only the Brokaws and the Morrises but of hundreds of other families struck by the terrible killer — experts say SIDS is the number-one killer of babies less than one year old.

Boatwright introduced four measures on the subject and asked for $1 million in the 1989-90 state budget for a variety of SIDS-related programs. As the bills made their way through the Senate and Assembly, Boatwright recounted the story of Kevin Brokaw. At a news conference, he introduced other couples who had suffered even more.

Sometimes parents of children who die from SIDS are treated as suspects in their babies' deaths. An Oakland mother, appearing at Boatwright's news conference, told how she was handcuffed in front of her other children after authorities found her baby dead last year. SIDS was later confirmed as the cause of death, but the woman says her young daughter still believes her mother killed her baby sister.

The subject of SIDS made headlines this summer in a troubling San Jose criminal investigation that led to a San Jose father being arrested for murder in the death of his four-month-old daughter. There were no obvious signs of injury and an emergency room doctor listed the case as possible SIDS. Charges were filed, however, after investigators said there were signs that the man's daughter had been sexually molested at some time prior to her death.

All four of Boatwright's bills were passed by the Legislature this summer with no debate and little opposition. And his $1 million appropriation in the state budget stayed largely intact, although Governor George Deukmejian trimmed it by $200,000. Boatwright said the remaining $800,000 would go a long way toward easing the pain of grieving parents.

Current state law requires a public-health nurse to visit the parents who lose a baby to SIDS, and provide them with information about the nature of the calamity. Local health officers are supposed to provide the state with annual reports of SIDS cases in their area.

The state had been paying counties $13 per case to carry out these services, which local officials complained was far from adequate. Boatwright's budget appropriation allows for payments of $100 per case, and officials say that should allow for public-health nurses to visit all parents who lose children to SIDS.

Boatwright's bills require:

- Police officers, firefighters and paramedics to receive training in how to handle investigation of SIDS deaths. Without such training, according to the bill, they "may compound the family grief through conveyed suspicions of a criminal act."
- The state Department of Health Services to provide on-going SIDS education and training programs to public-health nurses, coroners, investigators, paramedics, emergency room doctors and licensed day-care operators.
- That all autopsies performed where SIDS is suspected be conducted on a timely basis under uniform procedures with quality standards, with SIDS to be listed as the cause of death if the accepted pathological standards are met. Currently, there is no universal standard for determining a SIDS death.
- The state to establish a Sudden Infant Death Syndrome Advisory Task Force to the Department of Health Services, comprised of experts from the medical field and a SIDS parents group, to help the state develop training, educational and research projects related to SIDS. The members of the task force would be appointed by the Legislature and the governor.

The legislation puts California at the forefront of the effort to cope with SIDS, according to Dr. Bruce Beckwith, a professor of pathology and pediatrics in Colorado who is considered one of the nation's foremost experts on SIDS.

"But [the bills] should have passed 20 years ago," he said.

The standards for diagnosing SIDS as a cause of death vary from pathologist to pathologist. That's because a SIDs diagnosis literally means that no other cause of death could be found, Beckwith said.

"Individual biases are allowed to run free," Beckwith said.

Some pathologists are reluctant to make the diagnosis — some refuse to ever make it — "because it's almost like saying they failed, they couldn't find a cause," said Beckwith. "There are pathologists who don't believe in SIDS. They are offended, and rightfully so, by the imprecise definition," he said.

But under Boatwright's legislation, California will soon have a protocol for determining SIDS cases and that should speed up the process for informing parents. It will most likely simply say that when a baby is between two weeks and six months old, and dies in his sleep for no apparent reason, it is a likely SIDS case.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Is California guilty of child neglect?

**By Julie Miller**

Cartoon by Chris Van Overloop

*"Each of these children represents either a potential addition to the productive capacity and the enlightened citizenship of the nation, or, if allowed to suffer from neglect, a potential addition to the destructive forces of the community. The ranks of criminals and other enemies of society are recruited in an altogether undue proportion from children bereft of their natural homes and left without sufficient care....The interests of the nation are involved in the welfare of this army of children no less than our great material affairs."*

*— Theodore Roosevelt (1909)*

If Theodore Roosevelt was correct — and common sense dictates that he was — then Californians ought to pay close attention to the plight of an increasing number of its children. While the majority of young Californians receive most of the food, shelter and education they need, more and more kids are growing up in poverty. And contrary to Roosevelt's 80-year-old warning, children's advocates charge that the state is not doing enough to mitigate the effects of this poverty on youngsters.

California once led the nation in its commitment to children. No more. The rising number of children living in poverty, combined with recent reductions in children's services, has ignited concern over the plight of California's youngest citizens. Several recent studies have painted an alarming picture of the condition of the state's children:

- There has been a 50 percent increase in child poverty since 1981, and 23 percent of California's children now live below the poverty line. In simple numbers, this amounts to 1.5 million California children below the age of 18 who live in poverty.
- The California Department of Education estimates that 25,000 California children are homeless. Other estimates range from 30,000 to as high as 80,000. California has the largest low-income housing shortage in the country.
- The *Sacramento Bee* estimated that 1.1 million California children must turn to charitable food pantries for food. An estimated 500,000 parents go hungry so that their children may eat and about 167,000 children go to bed hungry at least once a month.
- The birth rate among teenage mothers has risen 10 percent since 1984.
- A legislative study found that between 10 and 15 percent of infants born in public hospitals in large California cities are drug or alcohol addicted.

Studies also show that the burden falls heavily on the state's minority populations. While only 14 percent of Anglo children live in poverty, 34 percent of Latino children and 29 percent of Black children live below the poverty level. The infant mortality rate among Blacks is almost twice that of An-

*Julie Miller is a* California Journal *summer intern.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

glos. This disparity is particularly alarming because of an anticipated increase in the state's minority population. Shortly after the turn of the next century, the Anglo population in California is expected to drop below 50 percent. That is already the case in the state's public schools, where minority group students now outnumber Whites.

Despite this trend, however, Anglos still dominate the political process. They vote in much greater numbers than minorities, and they hold nearly all major political offices — a trend that is expected to continue for some time. Indeed, there are some among the children's advocates who believe that the drop in services to needy children — most of whom are minority group members — reflects disinterest by the majority of White voters.

As a result, instead of focusing solely on the needs of minority children, many children's advocacy groups emphasize the need to improve the plight of all children with prevention of problems before they develop. They have been bolstered in these efforts by an array of studies from state agencies and legislative committees seeking to more closely examine what children are lacking and what changes should be made. Many of the reports have depended on information developed by the research group Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE). PACE's report, covering issues ranging from pre-natal care to high school drop-out rates, has also been used extensively by children's advocacy groups to illustrate the disturbing trends threatening many young Californians today.

These groups have sought to dramatize the findings. For example, Children Now, a child advocacy group, received extensive media exposure after it released a study on children in a report card format. This "report card" graded California on the conditions of its children in areas of health, education, safety, teen years, and investment in families. The group compared California's children with those of the rest of the nation, giving the state a 'D' in overall performance.

Although public opinion polls show that a majority of Californians think the state's children are doing poorly, Governor George Deukmejian disagrees: "California offers the most generous benefits in the nation to poor families and needy children," said Deukmejian. He criticized Children Now's study and said it deserved an 'F'.

Not everyone agrees on how best to improve services to children, even among those who believe that more should be done. The state's existing programs are fragmented and inefficient and they overlap. At a hearing of the Senate Select Committee on Children and Youth, several witnesses said that the state needs to improve organization, coordination and direction in the delivery of services to California's children. Jane Henderson, consultant to the Senate committee, said that one of the problems preventing the services from reaching the children is an absence of a strong central leadership on children's issues.

Deanne Tilton, administrative director of Child Abuse and Neglect in Los Angeles, put it this way: "... our many-faceted system can work in pieces very well, meeting all individual performance criteria and still fail a child because the pieces didn't work together."

Children in need of state help are often handed over to a variety of agencies, and social reformers stress the need to devise a system that can help the whole child rather than treat him like a many-faceted machine.

One children's advocate group in particular has gained media attention for putting its words into action. Coleman Advocates for Children and Youth, a San Francisco-based group, has proposed a Children's Budget that would take an "across-the-board approach" to cut through the multiple, overlapping agencies that prevent help from reaching needy children. Coleman Advocates recommends 30 program initiatives — including programs for latch-key children, in-home services to families disabled by drug abuse, and community-based rehabilitation programs — to be carried out by seven city departments. The group estimated a total cost of $7.6 million and even suggested methods for reallocating existing city resources to raise the funds needed to implement the Children's Budget.

Children's advocates see the Deukmejian administration's philosophy as a hindrance in their attempt to improve the condition of the state's children. They say the governor tends to be reactive rather than preventive in his approach — one reason why California has fallen behind other states, said Henderson. This "Let's wait until something happens" attitude keeps the state from making progress and ignores the economic and social benefits that may be achieved through investing in California's children before problems develop.

These investments can actually save taxpayers money, according to many studies. For example, it costs only $1200 to provide necessary health care for a pregnant woman but costs an average of $20,000 to care for a sick newborn whose illness could have been prevented through proper pre-natal care. Deukmejian's recent slashing of the family planning budget has been cited by many as evidence that the governor is not really willing to do enough to help poor families and needy children. Said Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, a Fresno Democrat and chairman of the Assembly Health Committee, "Family planning is a critical component of public health. It is the proper way to sound contraceptive education, as well as healthier children through proper pre-natal care and necessary primary care for women."

But Governor Deukmejian had harsh words for family planning. During a July press conference, the governor said, "I don't think they [those involved with family planning] have necessarily accomplished as much as they say they have."

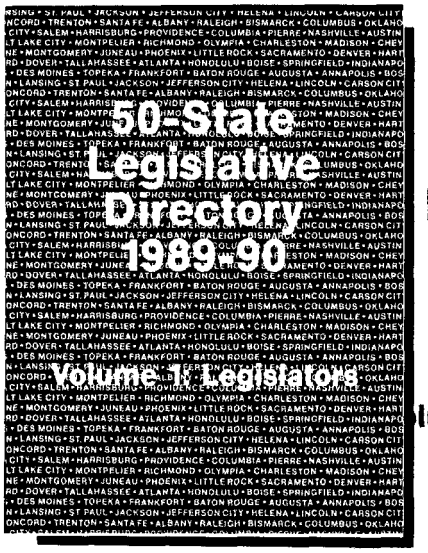
But family planning advocates point to the billions of dollars needlessly spent because preventative measures had not been taken. For example, the estimated $3 billion Californians pay each year for public support for families headed by single mothers who never finished high school could be drastically reduced if those mothers received special services to help them stay in school and become effective parents who are more likely to obtain jobs. If the single mother cannot work because she cannot find or afford child care, Californians pay $8750 a year for her welfare and medical payments. More than $5000 would be saved by placing her child in full-day child care to enable the mother to work.

In addition to directly aiding children, advocates believe that youngsters can be helped by helping the entire family. Advocates see a pressing need for a statewide program of in-home preventive services for families at risk of abuse and neglect. Not only would such a program help these families, say advocates, but it would also save money in the long run.

Although most children's advocates see little hope for substantial improvement from the current administration, they are looking forward to the 1990 elections. Because public-opinion polls indicate a strong and growing concern about the plight of children, advocates believe the condition of the state's young people could become a major political issue.

If candidates pick up on the children's issue, they will be echoing a theme that has long been present in American politics — present in fact since the days of Teddy Roosevelt.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




**50-State Legislative Directory 1989-90**

**lume 2: Committees**

# 50-State Legislative Directory

The new 1989-90 *50-State Legislative Directory* is now available. The two-volume set is an indispensible tool for corporate affairs officers, researchers, lobbyists, press and government agencies. *The 50-State Legislative Directory* provides a quick way to identify the key players in state policy making.

## Vol. 1 — Legislators

Names, district and capital addresses, party affiliation, phone numbers, and much more. 216 pages, 8½ x 11".

## Vol. 2 — Committees

Name, address, members, partisan breakdown, etc. 194 pages, 8½ x 11".

## Designed for the Biennium

Each volume of the set is up-dated three times during the 2-year period with cumulative pocket for supplements.

This set is published by **State Net®**, the nation's leading on-line 50-state legislative and regulatory reporting service, and ***California Journal.***

**Special Low price.** *The 50-State Legislative Directory* is less than half the price of the similar publications. Two-year subscription price: $95 for the set including the 3 updates each. (Single volumes are $60.)

Send your check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. For more information call (916) 444-2840.

---

## ORDER FORM

☐**Vol. 1, Legislators,** including 3 updates during two years $60.00

☐**Vol. 2, Committees,** including 3 updates during two years $60.00

☐**Both** (save $25.00) $95.00

Name _____

_____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

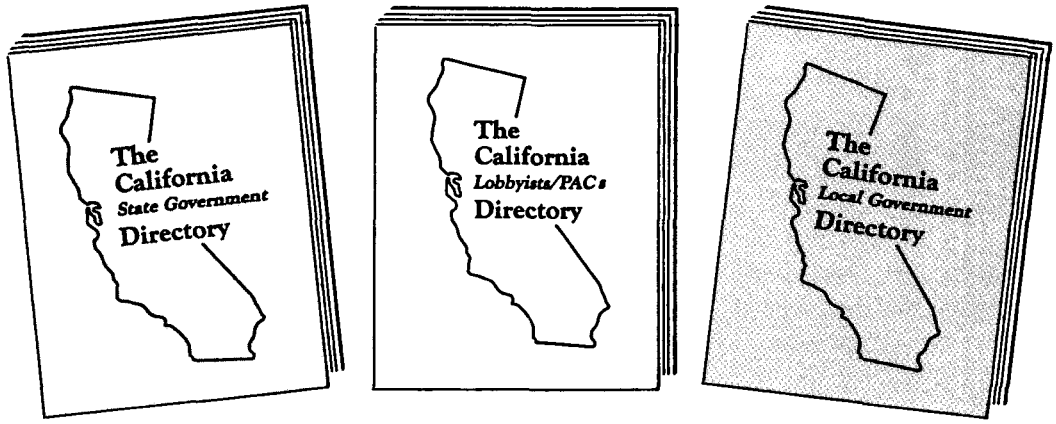
Telephone # _____

**Please Add 6.5 percent sales tax plus $2.00 handling to all orders.**

Send your check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. For more information call 916/444-2840.

For information about electronic versions of these publications, contact Wayne Kessler at State Net, 916/444-0840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


The California State Government Directory
The California Lobbyists/PACs Directory
The California Local Government Directory

# The California Directories

The new 1989-90 *California Directories* are now available. The three-volume set is an indispensible tool for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press and government agencies who need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. *The California Directories* provides a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy making.

## Volume 1 — State Government

Names, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, and staff of the Legislature. Description of state departments and their top staff. 144 pages, 8½ x 11″.
This book is also available in loose-leaf format with quarterly updates each year.

## Volume 2 — Lobbyists/PAC's

Name, address and phone numbers of lobbyists, firms and employers and political action committees. 186 pages, 8½ x 11″.

## Volume 3 — Local Government

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. About 300 pages, 8½ x 11″.

## Designed for the Biennium

Each bound volume of the set is updated three times during 1989-90 and has a pocket for the cumulative supplements.

This set is a joint production of **State Net®**, the nation's leading on-line 50-state legislative and regulatory reporting service, and ***California Journal.***

---

## ORDER FORM

☐ **State Government,** including 3 updates during two years, $95.00.

☐ **Lobbyists/PAC's,** including 3 updates during two years, $65.00.

☐ **Local Government,** including 3 up-dates during two years, $65.00.

☐ **All Three** (save $30.00), $195.00.

☐ **Any Two:** Deduct $15.00 from sum of single-copy prices, $_____ .

☐ **Looseleaf State Government** (formerly published as the *Guidebook*) **including quarterly up-dates for one year:**

| **New orders** | **Renewals** |
|---|---|
| ____ 1 year: $95.00 | ____ 1 year: $80.00 |
| ____ 2 years: $155.00 | ____ 2 years: $145.00 |

☐ **Monthly Update Service,** contained in ***Newsfile***, $42.00/year. (Save $13 if ordered with one or more directories.)

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
_____ Zip _____
Telephone # _____ / _____

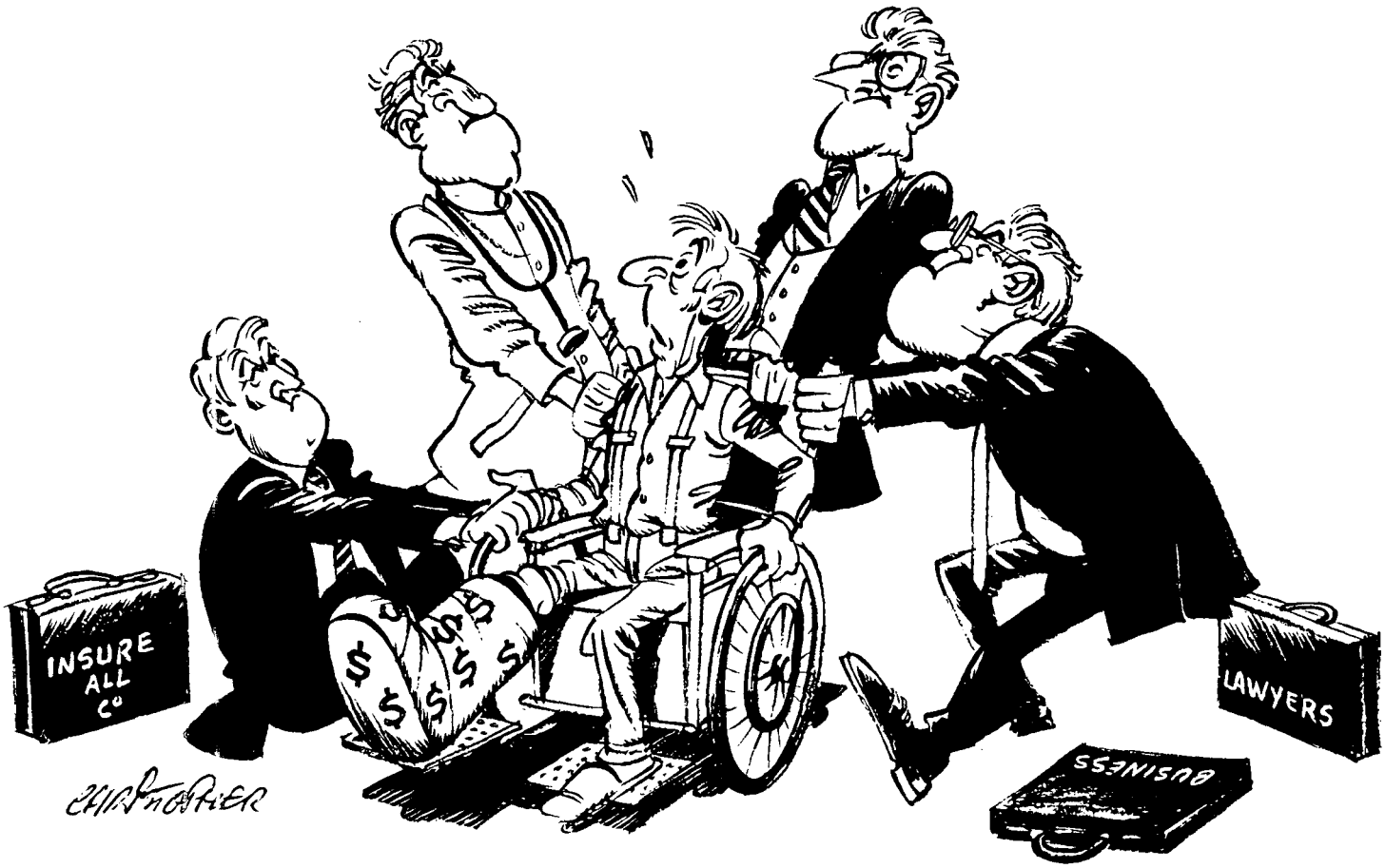
**Please add 6.5% sales tax plus $2.00 handling to all orders, except *Newsfile.***
Send orders to *California Journal,* 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.
For information about electronic versions of Volumes 1 & 2, contact Wayne Kessler at State Net, 916/444-0840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORKERS' COMPENSATION REFORM:

# Legislature bakes half a loaf

**By Kristina Emanuels**




One of the few things more troubled than California's current workers' compensation system is the movement attempting to reform it. A fierce political battle has been waged for decades over California's inefficient and inadequate system of compensating workers for job-related injuries. Prolonging the battle are the numbers of contentious and powerful top-dollar interests that all have a stake in the workers' compensation system.

In 1911 the state Constitution was amended to provide for the establishment of a system that would compensate employees for work-related illnesses or injuries. The state's involvement was supposed to be small. Workers would get benefits directly from their employer or the employer's insurance company. The state would step in only to mediate disputes. In theory, the worker benefitted from quick and higher payments, and the employer avoided costly litigation and outsized court awards.

Now, the reality: California's compensation benefits are among the lowest in the country while the costs to employers are among the highest. Where does the money go? According to critics, it is siphoned off by a whole range of "middlemen": lawyers, doctors, hospitals and insurance companies. Also, protracted litigation is the rule rather than the exception and "is one of the major factors driving the system," says Ed Mangiafico, co-chairman for Californians for Compensation Reform — a group aligned with employers.

Workers often wait years for a ruling on their claims, and many are denied any benefits until a state judge issues a final verdict. "Pretty typical," critics say, is the case of one injured Sacramento sheet-metal worker who waited three years to receive his $7000 settlement. In the meantime, he was sent to "over 350" doctors all over the state. His lawyer had advised him not to get a job while he waited for his settlement because "it would look bad." The injured worker now holds a job earning less than half the salary he earned in his construction job.

*Continued on next page*

*Kristina Emanuels is a* California Journal *intern.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And while workers with genuinely incapacitating injuries complain of long delays in benefit payments and ineffective vocational-rehabilitation programs, employers complain that a substantial number of workers collect for "stress" injuries due to their jobs, contributing to expensive workers' compensation insurance. Furthermore, the system is over-

Margolin

wrought with unenforceable standards for reporting and evaluating work-related injuries.

But in years past, attempts at significant workers' compensation reforms have hit a legislative brick wall. What changes have been made only occurred when three of the four major interest groups involved — insurance companies, doctors, employers, and workers' compensation lawyers — were able to politically isolate the fourth. Last year, in the latest attempt to overhaul the troubled system, Governor George Deukmejian requested that representatives of employers, organized labor and insurers meet to negotiate a reform. Pointedly absent, though, was the California Applicant Attorneys Association — representing lawyers who represent injured workers. This time around, they were the odd group out.

This coalition, spearheaded by Californians for Compensation Reform and with the support of AFL-CIO-affiliated labor unions, initially sought a major overhaul of the compensation system. But when the dust cleared at the end of the legislative session, only a modest group of reforms were started and compensation payments to workers, which were to have doubled, were increased by only 50 percent.

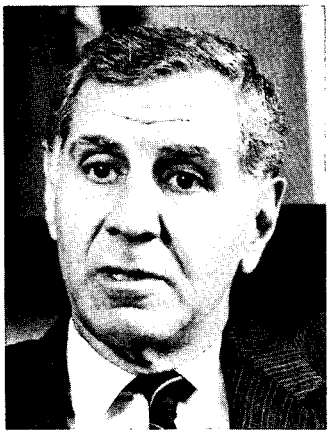
The original complex and complicated reform package attempted to find a delicate balance between often hostile allies. For example, in exchange for benefit increases — including more than doubling temporary disability benefits for injured workers — labor unions agreed to structural reforms in the system that may make it more difficult for some workers to receive any benefits at all. Insurance companies were forced to agree that they would be subjected to penalties for poor claims management.

Most of the increased benefits proposed in the bill would be financed by money-saving changes within the compensation system. The benefit hike was designed to essentially "pay for itself." Under the proposal, for example, if the worker and employer cannot agree on a doctor, the worker would have to choose from four "qualified medical evaluators" appointed by a new state Industrial Medical Council and selected randomly from a list of eligible participating physicians.

Current practice allows workers to seek out any doctor, and the employer must pay the medical bills. The change was made with the twin goals of limiting stress claims and preventing workers from "doctor-shopping" until they find one who will make a favorable evaluation. To further reduce the need for expensive litigation, the reformed system would also include an expanded, stronger state bureaucracy that is supposed to mediate disputes before they land in court.

Backers of the bill said it would eliminate what they see as three of the worst excesses of the current system: doctor-shopping, the dramatic increase in the number of stress claims and excess litigation. They say the bill could change one of the nation's worst worker-benefit programs into one of the best.

The attorneys representing injured workers disagreed. They argued that injured workers must give up far too much to justify the disability payment increase. The attorneys want to



Deukmejian

retain the trial-like hearings typical in the current system — a system that Jeff Raimundo, spokesman for Californians for Compensation Reform, calls "the lawyers' own private gravy train."

But Merle Rabine, president of the California Applicants' Attorneys Association, said, workers are protected best when they have adequate representation. "We have been opposed to the changes they've proposed. We think those changes are harmful to injured workers. The only way they can hurt lawyers is by hurting their clients."

The applicants' attorneys also fear the panel of doctors will be biased against the employee. Doug Kim, a lobbyist for the attorneys, predicted that the panel would not be impartial and that the system "seriously jeopardizes workers' rights and puts the burden of proof on the worker." The attorneys also strongly oppose the limits on stress claims, the "minimal" increases for partial disability claims and the vocational rehabilitation policy, which will force workers to quickly choose between getting disability payments or entering a vocational rehabilitation program.

In addition to applicants' attorneys, many labor groups not represented by the AFL-CIO and its executive secretary, Jack Henning, are opposed to the bill. Among them are groups that typically have a high incidence of stress claims — law enforcement, fire fighters and teachers.

These groups often put the blame for the system's high costs on escalating insurance profits. They said reform should be centered around what they claim are the bloated profits of the insurance industry. They point to a state Auditor General report last April which showed insurers making a surprising $1.4 billion in profits. Insurance representatives argue that the audit does not even use the word "profit" and the estimate ignored the $600 million the industry is required to set aside for unresolved claims, as well as the $800 million returned to employers in policy dividends. The insurance industry insists it is barely staying alive.

The bill's critics also argued that only 76 percent of the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers will actually benefit from the increases, which will go only to higher-paid workers. Part-time workers or those earning minimum wages will not see any benefit gains. Some workers who have permanent, but partial, disabilities will actually see a decrease in benefits.

The compensation-reform package was carried by Los Angeles Assemblyman Burt Margolin, a Democrat. The original bill underwent hundreds of amendments, leaving everyone, including the sponsoring coalition, on unstable ground. While many of the amendments were aimed at satisfying the critics' concerns, a large number were made under the qualification that they were temporary and would be changed in further negotiation. This was done, Margolin explained in committee, in order to keep the bill moving through the legislative process, hoping at some point to find the formula that would allow him to cut the Gordian Knot of compensation reform. The constant changing and unsteady footing, though, caused one representative for the lawyers to complain that "Margolin is asking us to take an awful lot on faith." At one point, for example, even the changes and rate increases proposed in the bill would not raise enough money to finance the raise proposed for injured workers.

Fierce debate and intense negotiation continued into the final hours of the 1989 Legislative session. If nothing passed, the alternatives were continued debate and negotiation through January, or the threat of a rash of ballot initiatives. Those concerned with the issue also saw in lame-duck Deukmejian their last chance for an acceptable compromise. Another Republican governor could be more intransigent to demands by labor, and a Democrat would likely approve changes unacceptable to business.

In the end, the Legislature passed what most agreed was a "half a loaf" bill. The more modest bill gives injured workers a 50 percent increase in rates, rather that the original doubling. Benefits, currently a maximum of $224 a week, will go up to $226 per week in 1990 and $336 per week in 1991. The compromise bill contains some of the structural reforms like limited stress claims, "doctor shopping," and the panel of qualified medical examiners. But there are loopholes in these changes that allow workers with lawyers to continue to find their own doctors, although employers will no longer have to pay for duplicate evaluations.

Indeed, almost no one associated with the measure believes it will do more than temporarily alleviate the worst of the system's problems, and provide more badly-needed money for disabled workers. But rather than the "standard for the decade of the 1990s" that Margolin had hoped for, he instead sees this year's product as "more like a three-year reform."

If nothing else, the compromise means that workers' compensation reform will remain on the legislative agenda for years to come.

# BALLOT FRONT

*A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,173 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parenthesis is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of* California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

**New in circulation:**

**LEGISLATIVE TERM LIMITS** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by John MacDonald of Santa Rosa and Gerald Fartain of Bayside, that would limit the tenure of any assemblyme mber or state senator to no more than a combined total of eigh years, whether successive or not, beginning December 3, 1990. Once a legislator has served the eight years, his or her seat b comes vacant and he or she may not again serve in the Legislature. (February 9, 1990)

**REAPPORTIONMENT. POLITICALLY COMPETITIVE DISTRICTS. VOTER REGISTRATION** — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Republican state Senator Bill Leonard of Redlands, that requires that "at least half of districts [congressional, state Senate and Assembly] be competitive." A "competitive district" is one where partisan registration of either one of the two largest parties in the district does not vary by more than 2 percentage points from that party's statewide registration. This is the seventh reapportionment initiative currently in circulation. (January 16, 1990)

**Continuing in circulation:**

**AIDS** — an initiative statute sponsored by Bruce Decker of the Health Policy and Research Foundation (Los Angeles), Dr. Michael Gottlieb (Sherman Oaks) and Reverend William Wood of the California Catholic Conference (Sacramento). (October 27th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Chamberlain of Sacramento. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**SPLIT ROLL PROPERTY TAX** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Bill Zimmerman of Santa Monica. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**CRIMINAL LAW** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim, Colleen Thompson Campbell of San Juan Capistrano, and Kern County District Attorney Edward Jagels. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**ELECTION DATES** — an initiative statute sponsored by Thomas Neece of San Francisco. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**SCHOOL PRAYER** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Eunice Parquet of Oakland. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

**RAIL TRANSPORTATION BOND ACT** — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral and James Knox of Sacramento and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

**LEGISLATURE. INTERNAL RULES. REAPPORTIONMENT** — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Brea. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

**WILDLIFE PROTECTION** — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral, Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly and Sharon Negri of Sacramento, and by J. William Yeates of Monterey and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

**REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMMISSION** — an initiative constitutional amendment *and* statute, sponsored by San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening. (December 11, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

**REAPPORTIONMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE** — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John Stanaland of Laguna Beach. (December 11, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

**REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE; SUPREME COURT, JUDICIAL REVIEW** — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by W. Bruce Lee II of Sacramento. (December 18, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

**LEGISLATURE. ETHICS. REAPPORTIONMENT.** — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gary Flynn of San Rafael. (January 2, 1990; September 1989 *CJ*)

**Failed to qualify:**

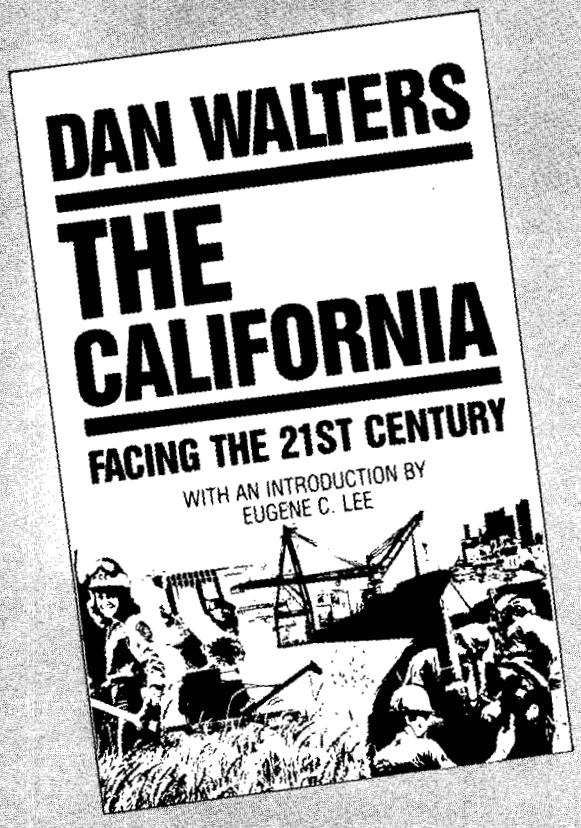
**REAPPORTIONMENT** — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by John Stoos and Chris Fellersen of Sacramento. (August 28th; July 1989 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Advertisement*

# Books from California Journal




## The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series is now available in book form. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

**California's Legislature** *by James Driscoll.* This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the capital building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6 x 9″, 256 pages, paperbound, $4.95. Bulk discount: 10-49 copies, $4.55 ea.; 50-99 copies, $4.25 ea.; 100 or more, $3.95 ea.

**Cartoon History of California Politics,** *by Ed Salzman* and *Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8″, 156 pages, paperback. Price: $5.95.

**Index.** A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research. 1970-88. Turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $2.95 per year.

**California Government and Politics Annual, 1988-89.** Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. The book also includes a "Quick Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11″, 128 pages. $5.95 paper.

**Reporting: An Inside View**, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9″, 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

**Almanac of California Government and Politics, Sixth Edition.** Contains 192 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 1987, 5½ x 8½″, 184 pages. $8.95 paper.

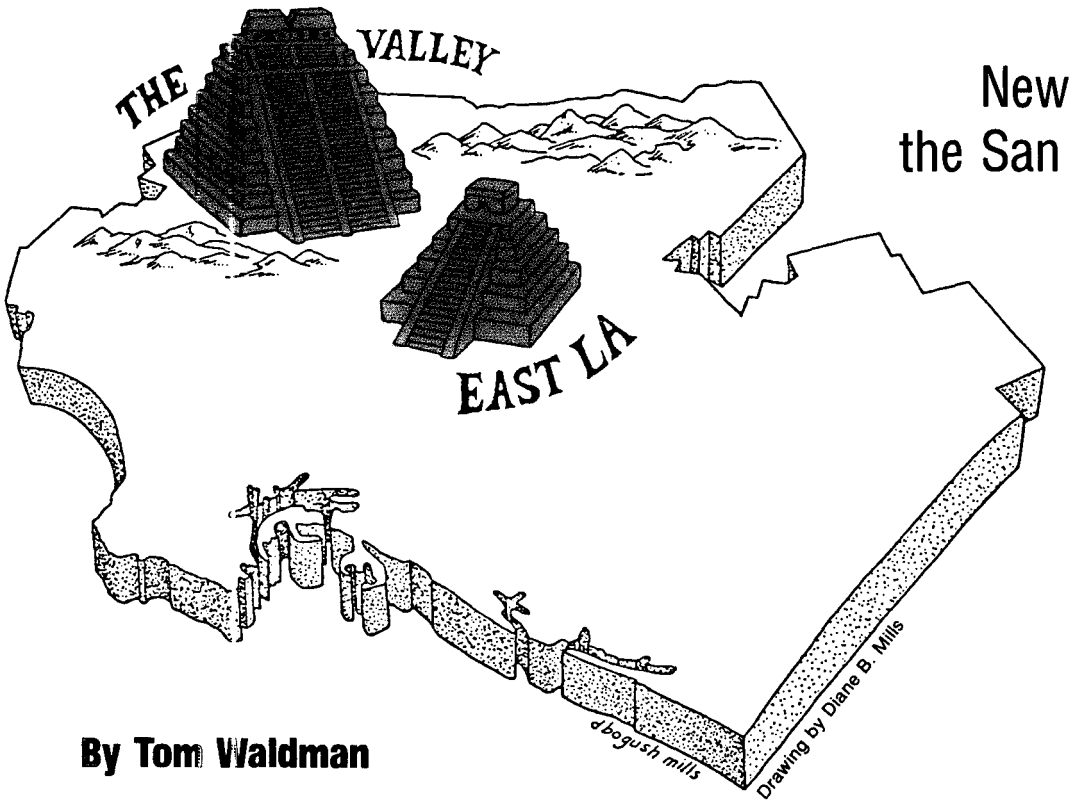
---

**Please add 6½% sales tax plus $2 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment (VISA and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Latinos in the Valley

## New power center in the San Fernando Valley




**By Tom Waldman**

East Los Angeles has come to stand for everything Latino in Southern California.

Take politics. The area is represented on the City Council by Richard Alatorre and Gloria Molina, each of whom is accorded a good chance of becoming the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles, perhaps as early as 1993. It is represented in the state Senate by Art Torres who, according to his mood either talks about trying to become the county's first Latino supervisor or the state's first Latino governor.

In these three, journalists invariably find the angle: Alatorre, Molina and Torres will lead Southern California's huge Latino community to the political power it has so long been denied.

American culture, when it chooses to present Latinos at all, usually places them in East Los Angeles. It is where Freddie Prinze lived and worked in the television program "Chico and the Man," where Jaime Escalante taught calculus in the film "Stand and Deliver" (which was based on a true story). It is also the butt of jokes by comedian Paul Rodriguez. If Anglos living in, say, Virginia have heard about Mexican-Americans, they've heard about East Los Angeles.

This picture, however, is not in keeping with events. Over the past several years, as an increasing number of immigrants headed north from Mexico and Central America, Southern California's bulging Latino population began to disperse. Now the San Fernando Valley has become a center of the community.

The Valley's popular image — promoted to excess this decade by film, television and local media — is lily-white, mostly blonde, materialistic and self-indulgent. It is the "Valley Girl" whose life centers around the shopping mall. Neither immigrants from El Salvador nor Mexican-American families living in California for generations fit into this scheme. Then again, when do students of the Valley ever mention Pacoima, Panorama City, Arleta or Sun Valley?

Leo Estrada, professor of urban planning at UCLA, has been thinking quite a bit about those cities, and about Van Nuys and San Fernando, too. Estrada, an expert on population trends among Southern California's Latinos, is discovering that the Northeast Valley — a term that has only recently become widespread in its usage — has the potential to someday exceed legendary East Los Angeles as the center of Latino economic and politicial activity.

Estrada's estimate of the Northeast Valley's Latino population (300,000) already ties it with East L.A. "The most important thing is the potential for growth," he said. "The Valley area still has lots of empty land. And being in the Valley means the men have jobs, their wives have jobs, their children have jobs." By contrast, East Los Angeles is a much poorer and more crowded area.

At precisely the time when the outside world is learning so much about the Eastside, the Northeast Valley is slowly finding its way toward community activism and political participation. The days when Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, George Bush, *et al*, routinely visited East L.A. to woo the entire Latino vote may be over.

And if non-Latino politicians — not to mention the troika from East Los Angeles — fail to recognize the strength of the Northeast Valley, they may be in for rough times. "If you come out here — be you Tom Bradley, Zev Yaroslavsky or Gloria Molina — and you show up two months before an election and say 'Hi, I'm here to help,' folks are going to be real suspicious," said Assemblyman Richard Katz, a Democrat who has represented the area since 1980.

*Continued on next page*

---

*Tom Waldman is a Los Angeles writer who has contributed frequently to the* California Journal.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For all the charts and statistics of Estrada's trade, it was a keen eye that first made him aware of the growing Latino presence in the Northeast Valley. Having watched television reports of labor troubles at the General Motors plant in Van Nuys during the 1970s, Estrada noticed again and again that many of the auto workers were Latino. This revelation sent the demographer into the field: "That was the first time I began to ask myself, 'Where do they live?'"

He had known of the long-standing community in Pacoima, a main city on the road to the farms of the northern valleys. For decades, succeeding generations of farm workers had raised their families in Pacoima.

Molina

Outside of Pacoima, however, the '70s seemed to be a decade of Latino retreat from the Valley, according to Estrada. Whole Latino neighborhoods in Encino and points west were disappearing, the result of escalating land prices brought on by the construction of both expensive housing and the Warner Center — a collection of professional offices, restaurants, townhouses and hotels.

A new class, which would someday be christened "yuppies," had begun migrating to the area. "In the back of my mind, the expectation was that in the San Fernando Valley — with the exception of Pacoima and a small piece of Northridge — we were looking at the decline of a Latino presence," said Estrada.

Still, he could not forget those auto workers. When Estrada, after heading north in his search for Latinos, arrived at Victory Boulevard, a main thoroughfare that crosses the San Fernando Valley from east to west, he was amazed.

In neighborhoods where working-class Anglo families had raised their kids, he now saw Latino children running in the streets. The Whites had begun to move — mostly to take advantage of a favorable housing market in the central and southern parts of the Valley but also in some cases to flee the Latinos — leaving behind single-family dwellings and large apartments, each of which could accommodate many inhabitants. Spanish-language billboards and business signs provided more evidence of the change. "A whole new population was blossoming," said Estrada.

They came from East Los Angeles, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala. Developers basically had their way in the Northeast Valley during the 1980s, and the new arrivals found work as electricians, carpenters, plumbers and construction workers. Those few Valley cities with sizable, existing Latino populations experienced a new influx of people with Spanish surnames.

"Twice a year I do part of a parade in Pacoima that travels down Van Nuys Boulevard," said Katz. "Literally, block by block, I've watched Black faces being replaced by Hispanic faces."

For many of the immigrants, East L.A. had become a brief first stop on the road to the better life anticipated in America. Finding jobs and homes in the Northeast Valley has apparently convinced a number of them to stay; Estrada said that amnesty applications from the area are high. Members of the growing Latino professional class have also begun moving into these neighborhoods.

Estrada now predicts that by the turn of this century 500,000 Latinos will have a Northeast Valley address. In numbers, anyway, that will be enough to make East Los Angeles, where there is little room for growth, the equivalent of a little brother.

Yet, in part because of its cramped conditions, East Los Angeles fostered the sense of a Latino community. That sense remains elusive in the wide open Northeast Valley.

A kind of small-town nationalism, a "neighborhood first" mentality, is stronger today than ethnic identification. "The community is not connected," explained Katz. "Pacoima is not connected to Sun Valley, Sun Valley and Pacoima are not connected to San Fernando, and none of them is connected to Van Nuys."

Packed neighborhoods, of course, are not the only way for a feeling of community to develop. Many elected officials and local activists agree that the realization of common problems — the majority of which are only solvable through politics — will eventually have Northeast Valley Latinos looking for support beyond the confines of their immediate cities. An ongoing battle against drugs and alcohol led by a kind, soft-spoken parent named Augie Maldonado is already proving the point.

Maldonado's son became "obsessed" with crack at the age of 14. He would stay on the streets for days at a time; the father would have to use underground contacts to find the boy and bring him home.

Neighborhood dealers beget neighborhood users; Maldonado could hardly take a walk outside his Pacoima home without seeing guys selling crack. By the mid 1980s, the inner-city drug trade had found new markets 40 miles away in the northern end of the San Fernando Valley, where an understaffed police substation could not cope with the invasion.

The arrogance of street-corner pushers, combined with the addiction of his son, goaded the formerly passive Maldonado into aggressive action. Along with other adults, many of them grandmothers and grandfathers, he formed a group designed to do nothing less than reclaim the territory. "The word got around to the dealers to take your business elsewhere," said Maldonado.

Words are not usually thought to an effective weapon against real weapons. But Maldonado's achievement was to make his cause public. He and his army of the elderly would march through the streets chanting songs and waving signs, all the while urging onlookers to join them. The traditional tactics of non-violent protestors were being directed against a group of thugs, who for obvious reasons did not appreciate the attention. "We realized we had stumbled into something," said Maldonado.

The media began coming to the area, as did politicians such as Mayor Tom Bradley, Supervisor Mike Antonovich and City Councilman Ernani Bernardi. This was all too much for the dealers, who have retreated. "The streets are clean," said Maldonado.

Torres

Perhaps one day the same will be said of his son, who is currently recovering in a detoxification center.

The battle for Pacoima energized Maldonado, who has since assisted Panorama City and Van Nuys, which have been plagued by their own drug and gang problems. He routinely attends three or four meetings per week of newly-formed volunteer groups.

The common enemy has made the Northeast Valley cities take notice of each other. Maldonado, who is now a paid staff member of a community-based alcohol and drug prevention organization, believes the days of apathy are fading. "This is part of the community's evolution," he said.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Additional evidence is on display in San Fernando, which though not part of the city of Los Angeles, is located in the middle of the Northeast Valley. The proliferation there of liquor stores is seen as a public embarrassment, an indirect cause of brawls and drunk-driving accidents, and an expression of the low regard in which outside interests hold the area. "The 'community be damned' attitude is no longer acceptable to people in the Northeast Valley," said San Fernando Mayor Dan Acuna.

Over the past two years, Maldonado's anti-drug group has convinced a Los Angeles zoning commission not to issue permits to six liquor stores that were being planned for Pacoima. Since the counterattack began, Spanish-language billboards touting the pleasures of alcoholic beverages have, by some estimates, tripled in the area. "The industry is fighting us," said Maldonado. "They are very slick."

Not all Northeast Valley activism has been directed against bad influences. Pride in the community has also come to mean wider recognition for the contributions of Latinos to American culture.

The first step in this vein is also the most appropriate: A group of community leaders, musicians and others — with considerable help from Katz — recently succeeded in their two-year effort to add a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame honoring Ritchie Valens, the great Latino rock 'n' roll singer from the 1950s who grew up in Pacoima.

The star will be dedicated in the spring of 1990. "On the one hand, people are going to say it is not as important as saving the world," said Katz. "On the other hand, one of my frustrations is that when role models are doing their public service and taking a swing through the schools, they don't come out here."

Katz has also arranged free screenings of "La Bamba" — the popular movie about Valens — and "Stand and Deliver" for kids living in the Northeast Valley. Members of the cast from "Stand and Deliver" spoke to the youthful audience after one Saturday morning showing.

The feeling in the Northeast Valley is that these actions, taken together, signify the start of something that can't be stopped. A community that had been overrun by brazen criminals, exploited by some business owners and treated with disdain by too many politicians has decided to get things done on its own.

The big question is when this new found self-reliance will be channeled into a bid for political power. A lot of people are saying 1993 is the year.

Los Angeles City Councilman Ernani Bernardi, who represents much of the Northeast Valley, won a tough re-election campaign in the spring of 1989. The endorsement of Gloria Molina and other Latino leaders was crucial in his run-off victory over Lyle Hall, who was backed by Art Torres and Jerry Brown. Incumbency triumphed over the Democratic Party establishment.

Alatorre

Some of those Latino leaders supported the 78-year-old Bernardi because he has promised to retire at the end of this term, in 1993. By then they hope to have a strong Latino candidate vying for the open seat. "I don't think a non-Latino can serve the needs of the people," said Irene Tovar, a longtime activist and Democratic Party organizer from Pacoima. "I haven't seen them focus on the crucial needs. We [Latinos] have the highest unemployment, dropout rates."

Tovar thought 1989 was the year to make that case, but she finished a disappointing fourth out of a field of eight running for Bernardi's seat. She blames a lack of support from the Democratic Party and organized labor for her defeat. "They [the Democrats] bypassed me for a White male [Hall] who had never been active in the community," she said.

Tovar wants to try again in four years. She is counting on an increase in Latino voters, especially the immigrants, who are just now learning the specifics of American political culture, to make the difference. Tovar's '89 campaign team, most of them Latinos, will be more experienced when the next challenge comes around.

Acuna, Maldonado and others talk about the importance of electing a Latino to the Council in 1993, although they have not committed themselves to a particular candidate. They also recognize, as does Tovar, that their community has been plagued by the same problem — low voter turnout — that has curbed Latino political power in other parts of California.

According to Bernardi's figures, only 20 percent of the Latinos in his district are registered to vote. "I don't see them [local leaders] working to do something out there to motivate the people," he said. Does he expect to be succeeded by a Latino? "The way it is now, I don't think so."

The year Bernardi retires is also the year of the next Los Angeles mayoral election. It figures to be an usually chaotic time in Los Angeles politics, with the turmoil surrounding Mayor Bradley and major population changes creating a host of uncertainties. Yaroslavsky, Alatorre, Molina and now City Councilman Michael Woo are all talking about running.

George Pla, a businessman and campaign manager for Alatorre, Congressman Esteban Torres and others, said it will be up to the San Fernando Valley to narrow the field. "The Westside is predictable. The Eastside is somewhat predictable; South-Central, to some extent, is predictable. But what will the San Fernando Valley do, given the large numbers of Republican voters, Anglo voters in general, and Latinos?"

Pla's depiction of L.A. political life strongly suggests that the candidates will be taking the northbound freeways many times during the campaign. And that means visits to the Northeast Valley. This could very well be the first mayoral race in the city where the crucial segment of the Latino vote will come from somewhere other than East Los Angeles.

Otherwise, reapportionment and the excellent chance that Katz will soon seek higher office have got Latinos excited about the future. A couple of Latino council members and one or two Latino representatives in Sacramento would give the Northeast Valley political stature commensurate with its growing economic base. By then it would be hard for anyone not to view the Northeast Valley as the undisputed capital of the huge Latino community in Southern California.

This is not, however, a rivalry. Both the Northeast Valley and the Eastside people are careful to discuss the positive aspects, stressing an expansion of the Latino political base and further possibilities for the election of Latinos. Pla, for one, is already making contacts with Northeast Valley people in the hopes of becoming a figure in future campaigns.

"We want a good relationship with our Eastside brothers and sisters," said Tovar.

But the old definition of the Latino voting bloc as downtown Los Angeles and points east no longer applies. "In the end, I don't think the Northeast Valley will be satisfied until it has its own councilperson — who is a counterpart to the East LA politicians — to speak for them on their issues." said Estrada.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

## California and the drug war

When President Bush presented his vaunted plan to fight drugs, California's politicians in Washington were more vocal than most in denouncing the effort as too little, too late. And the criticism was bipartisan, with Republican Senator Pete Wilson at least as sharp in his remarks as Democratic Senator Alan Cranston.

AS WILSON RUNS FOR GOVERNOR, it is clear that he is adding drug policy to offshore oil drilling and abortion on his select list of issues on which he is eager to part company with fellow Republican Bush.

What may be at work here is a growing conviction in California that the state is not getting its share of federal help in fighting the drug epidemic, particularly in Los Angeles and along the Mexican border.

Southern California's murderous drug gangs distribute their illicit goods across the nation. Because of that, some California officials believe, the federal government tends to look on the largest state as a source of the drug crisis rather than as one of its victims.

"There is a tendency in Washington to have a significant East Coast bias in looking at most problems, but the drug problem in particular," said Representative Mel Levine, a Democrat from Los Angeles. "If you want to get at the drug problem, you have to go to the American source, which is the L.A. area."

As things now stand, Levine complained, the federal Drug Enforcement Agency has 300 agents in New York but only 83 in Los Angeles. Not only has the federal government failed to give California enough help, Levine and other California critics charge, it has exacerbated the problem in the state by concentrating special efforts on the East Coast.

"Miami and New York have gotten special federal attention, and they needed it," Levine said, "but that has caused a lot of the major drug dealers to move from the southeast to the southwest."

Or as a veteran Republican political strategist in California put it, "You squeeze the balloon in Florida, and the drug runners say, 'Aha! Mexico has a 1700-mile border that's already a sieve.'"

If the federal squeeze on drug smuggling into south Florida has only worsened California's problems, then Bush has a special responsibility. The well-publicized drive was begun under President Ronald Reagan, and then-Vice President Bush was assigned to oversee it. Beyond joining in demands that Bush spend more money fighting drugs, California politicians are steamed that the president has delayed action on naming L.A. a "High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area."

Under the omnibus anti-drug bill of 1988, such designated cities are eligible for a blitz of extra federal resources to fight the drug war. But the Bush administration has resisted naming the "High Intensity" target areas until next year, apparently for budgetary reasons.

One California legislative aide complained sardonically that Los Angeles' drug gangs do not operate on the same fiscal cycle as the Bush White House.

"Just as the Medillin cartel's tentacles reach from Colombia to the U.S., the drug gangs in Los Angeles — the Crips and the Bloods — have exported their violent drug trafficking operations to the other 49 states," Wilson said. "It is pointless to wait another day to designate L.A. as a High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area, let alone until February, as the White House is suggesting."

As such white-hot oratory suggests, battling drug gangs seems likely to be a dominant motif in next year's race for California governor. While Wilson berates his own party's president, Attorney General John Van de Kamp, the leading Democratic candidate for governor, is no slouch at get-tough rhetoric.

It will be interesting to see whether any of the candidates for governor place much emphasis on endorsing Bush's controversial proposals to get tough on "casual" drug users. Among other things, the president has called for "boot camps" for first-time drug users, for widespread urine testing in the workplace and for states to enact laws yanking the driver's license of anyone caught with drugs.

Suburban yuppie voters, a crucial swing vote in California, may not be altogether united in their enthusiasm for Bush's recommendations to crack down on casual personal use of marijuana and cocaine. Most "thirtysomething" voters have long since given up their roach clips and hash pipes, but some may feel uneasy about renouncing the anything-goes tolerance of the 1960s. Nonetheless, the president has put the issue of casual drug use squarely before the country. William Bennett, Bush's articulate, combative, fiercely conservative drug czar, portrays the casual user as the "carrier" of the drug epidemic.

"THE USER IS THE PERSON — The casual user, who has not yet bottomed out or burned out — who the child sees and may believe this person has their act together, has their life together," Bennett said. "A young person may see a user of drugs who has a nice job and a nice car and a nice family, and is still taking cocaine, and thinks, 'Well, you can have it all.' And so he proceeds to take cocaine. That casual user is a carrier."

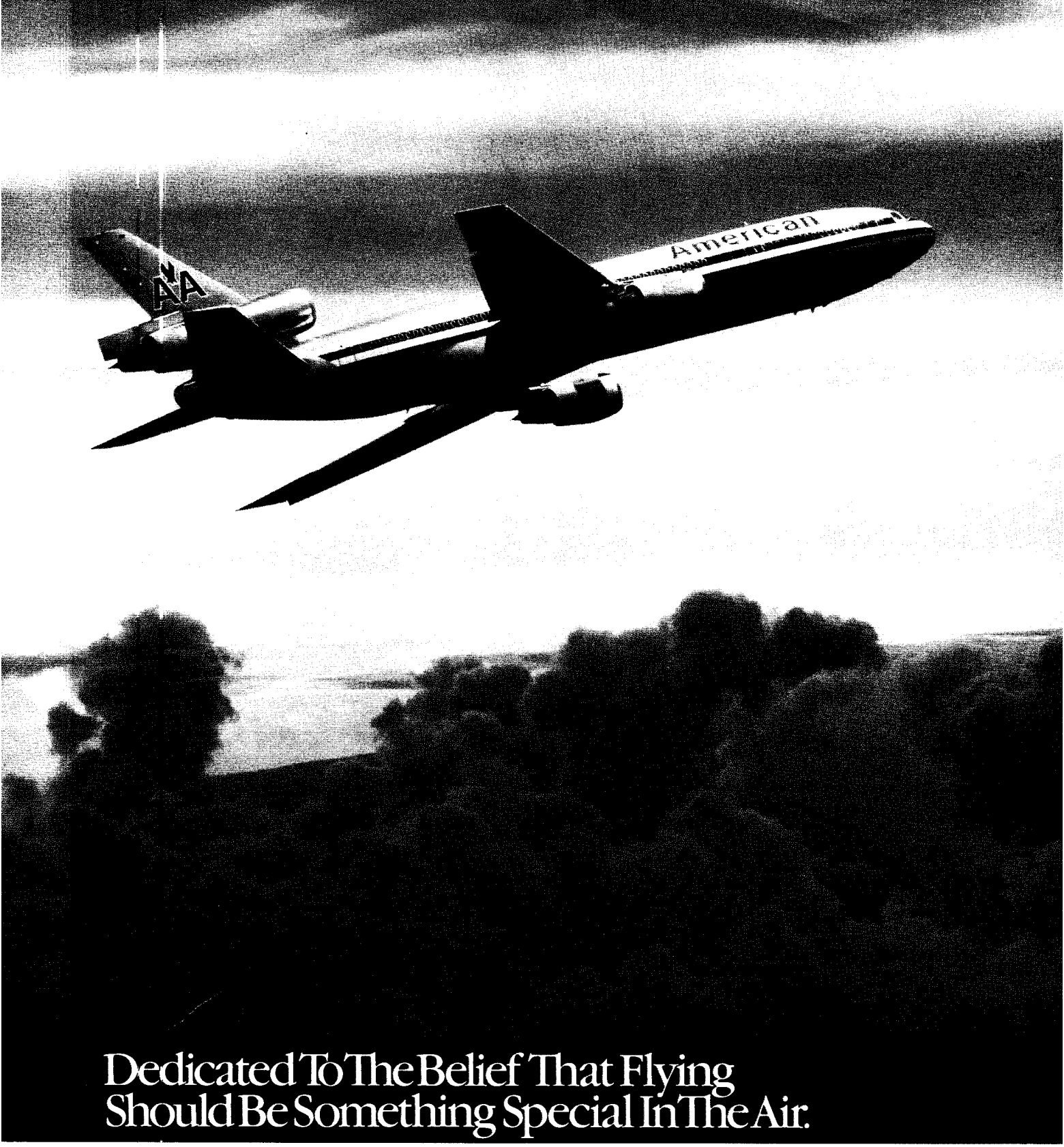
Bennett maintains that there is a consensus in America for "zero tolerance" of drug use. He noted a recent Gallup Poll that found 86 percent of Americans supported punishing casual drug users. "Someone pointed out to me," he added wryly, "it comes pretty close to concluding that all casual users said 'no' and everybody else, to a person, said 'yes.'"

---

*Larry Liebert is Washington Bureau Chief of the* San Francisco Chronicle.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# Dedicated To The Belief That Flying Should Be Something Special In The Air.

At American Airlines, our philosophy is that people aren't just passengers. They're guests. So, we give them attentive service, with courtesy and respect.

Our philosophy means you can expect our planes to be clean and comfortable. Not just sometimes, but all the time. And it means you can depend on us to be dependable. Because we work very hard to keep our schedule on schedule.

So fly American Airlines and enjoy something special. You'll discover why, in a world of airlines, one airline can make a world of difference.

**AmericanAirlines**

*Something special in the air.*℠

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED